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ABSTRACT

This monograph constitutes a survey of twenty-two unpublished doctoral research studies and one unpublished educational specialist's thesis, all of which bear on some aspect of school desegregation. The studies were completed in the College of Education of the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, from 1955-1972; the studies give broad, if not complete coverage to the various facets of desegregation in the South, and particularly in Tennessee. Six studies concerned students, ten concerned teachers, three concerned superintendents, and four concerned racial issues and college students. (DM)

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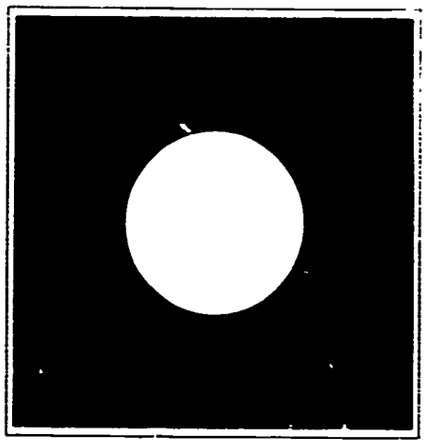

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SCHOOL DESEGREGATION RESEARCH: A SURVEY OF DOCTORAL STUDIES, COLLEGE OF EDUCATION, THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE, KNOXVILLE

FREDERICK P. VENDITTI AND BURNIS HALL, JR.

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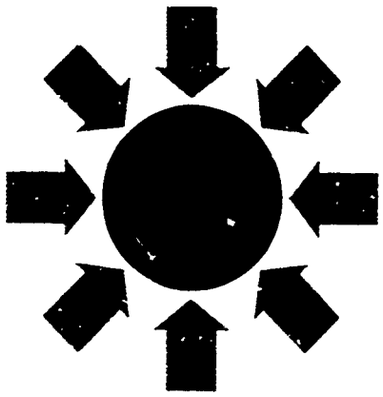

INTRODUCTION

This monograph constitutes what is essentially a survey of twenty-two unpublished doctoral research studies and one unpublished educational specialist's thesis, all of which bear on some aspect of school desegregation. The studies were completed in the College of Education of The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, during the period 1955 through 1972.

The compilers of the monograph were motivated in their undertaking by a number of shared interests and convictions. Each had had occasion to review with some thoroughness the research alluded to above, one as a consequence of his professorial responsibilities and special professional interests, and the other in connection with his scholarly pursuits while working on the doctoral level. Once having become familiar with this rich body of information, both found themselves agreeing strongly that the research was intrinsically of such nature as to be potentially of great interest to a large number of professional educators, including both academicians and practitioners. They agreed further that reports of the research were eminently worthy of much wider dissemination than they could possibly command in their original form, i.e., as bound dissertations reposing

on the shelves of the University library. Accordingly, the compilers determined to summarize the studies and make them available to interested readers in a single source. This monograph represents the fruits of their efforts.

In the view of its compilers, the monograph can serve at least two extremely useful purposes. First, it can provide the more casual reader with a global picture of the research bearing on various aspects of school desegregation that has been done by advanced graduate students in the College of Education at the University of Tennessee at Knoxville during the past seventeen years. Second, it can enlighten those with research interests related to school desegregation who may peruse its pages seeking specific information regarding such matters as gaps in the research, design, procedures, major findings, and suggestions for further investigations.

The reader should be informed that the summaries included in the monograph have been prepared largely through selective, verbatim excerpting from the original dissertations. In some instances, however, the compilers paraphrased and otherwise edited the original text of the dissertations in an effort to make their summaries more understandable and readable.

Two general observations regarding the studies were made by the compilers as they became familiar with the total body of research. These are offered below in the belief that they might be of passing interest to the reader.

First, it becomes rather immediately apparent when reviewing the research that completion of the studies was not distributed evenly through the years. That is, only six studies were finished between 1955 and 1963; but between 1966 and 1969, seven were completed, and ten were conducted in the short three years between 1970 and 1972. The accelerated pace at which the studies were done as the years went by may quite possibly have been the indirect result of such factors as increased professional and public interest in the desegregation of schools, increased activity of the federal courts — as manifested by the burgeoning number of desegregation orders they handed down from the middle 60's to the present time — and an increased interest among educators, especially administrators, in research which might be helpful in the formulation and implementation of student and faculty desegregation plans.

Second, it may be noted that the topics of the dissertations tend to a degree to reflect chronologically the more important desegregation concerns and issues (e.g., the role of students, superintendents, and teachers in the desegregation process) at given points in time since the Supreme Court's landmark 1954 *Brown* decision. For example, the four studies completed during the period between 1954 and 1959 concerned themselves with the attitudes of students to-

ward school desegregation and the role of superintendents in desegregating public schools. This focus of study was consistent with the fact that the earliest phases of the desegregation process involved almost exclusively the mixing of students, and this was viewed by many as primarily an administrative problem. On the other hand, faculty desegregation increased at a dramatic pace between 1966 and 1970, and nine studies related to this phenomenon were completed during this period.

Taken together, the research studies summarized in this monograph give broad, if not complete, coverage to the various facets of school desegregation in the South, and most particularly in Tennessee. Six (26%) concerned students; ten (46%) concerned teachers; three (11%) concerned superintendents; and four (17%) concerned racial issues and college students.

In addition to the University of Tennessee studies summarized in the monograph, the reader will find in the appendix a selective bibliography of research studies and research-related reports which, with two exceptions, may be obtained from the Educational Research Information Center (ERIC) collection. (Each ERIC citation includes the standard retrieval number.) The reader wishing to make an exhaustive survey of research relating to school desegregation should find this bibliography a handy tool.

The compilers of the monograph learned much themselves as they reviewed and summarized the research covered in this publication. They sincerely hope their monograph will, at least to some small degree, illuminate for its readers the extremely complex and, as yet, far-from-finished business of school desegregation.

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SECTION I:
STUDIES FOCUSING PRIMARILY UPON STUDENTS

INTRODUCTION

This section of the monograph surveys six research studies. Three were undertaken to investigate students' racial attitudes, or attitudes having strong racial implications, in the milieu of the desegregated school. One was conducted primarily to investigate black students' attitudes toward their respective, predominantly black, high schools. Two were of an experimental nature, conducted in a predominantly white school. One of these studies sought to determine the effectiveness of certain procedures instituted with the hope of improving race relations in the school, and the other was designed to test the efficacy of group counselings as a means of assisting black students to profit more from their schooling.

Stated in a very broad and general way, some of the more important findings of these studies were the following: (1) Mere racial desegregation of boys and girls in the classroom does not produce automatically positive race relations or improved attitudes toward race. (2) White students in a minority situation in school appear to harbor significantly more negative attitudes toward blacks than do white students in a majority situation in school. (3) Black high school students can hold distinctly wholesome and positive attitudes toward their essentially segregated schools. (4) There appear to be certain procedures and practices which, when initiated deliberately and systematically in a desegregated school, can significantly increase racial harmony among students. (5) There is evidence to suggest that appropriate small group counseling can enhance black students' competence to cope successfully with the total environment in the desegregated school.

A STUDY OF STUDENT ATTITUDES REGARDING DESEGREGATION IN SELECTED SCHOOL SYSTEMS IN TENNESSEE (1972)

Burnis Hall, Jr.

The primary purpose of this exploratory field study was to identify the desgregation attitudes of certain students in Tennessee and to explore the extent to which these attitudes were related to certain independent variables. A secondary purpose was to determine whether attitudes toward desegregation were closely related to (a) the student racial composition of the individual school system or (b) the amount of student exposure to a desegregated situation.

The attitudes (dependent variables) were measured by a 34-item questionnaire administered to 396 students in six school systems located in West and East Tennessee. An internal consistency check of the questionnaire reduced the sampled group to 292 respondents and the number of questionnaire items to 25, which items together provided one measure of the desegregation attitudes of each student in the sample.

The relationships between this single measure of the students' desegregation attitudes and certain independent variables were investigated in this study. The independent variables were: (1) the location of the school system in the State of Tennessee (West or East Tennessee); (2) the student racial composition of the school; (3) the race of the student; (4) the sex of the student; (5) the grade of the student (tenth, eleventh, and twelfth); and (6) the amount of student exposure to a desegregated situation.

The Kruskal-Wallis One-Way Analysis-of-Variance Test and/or the Mann-Whitney U Test were used in testing hypotheses for significant differences at the .05 level of significance.

The data supported the rejection of hypotheses concerning region of the state, sex and region of the state, and student racial composition of the school system. Several conclusions were derived from the analysis of the findings.

Students in East Tennessee were consistently more positive in their attitudes toward desegregation than West Tennessee students. However, students' negative desegregation attitudes in one West Tennessee school system (the system that was 49 per cent white) contributed significantly to this difference. The influence of this one system was further supported when East and West Tennessee male and female students' responses were examined for attitudinal differences; again, East Tennessee male and female students were found more positive than West Tennessee students. Another factor which may have contributed to the negative attitudes of students was the racial composition of some schools. That is, the black population was proportionately so large in West Tennessee that desegregation

resulted in some schools with predominantly black enrollments. Thus, it was concluded that variables other than region of the state may be major factors contributing to students' attitudes toward desegregation.

It was also found that students in West Tennessee school systems with varying percentages of white students (i.e., 91 per cent, 82 per cent, 58 per cent, and 49 per cent white) differed significantly among themselves in their attitude toward desegregation. The differences, again, were attributed to one system, which was the only system with a predominantly black enrollment. That is, students in school systems that were 91 per cent, 82 per cent, and 58 per cent white had similar attitudes toward desegregation. Only when the school system with 49 per cent white students was included in the analysis did significant attitudinal differences among the four systems emerge. This finding suggested that there may be a "tipping point" where the size of the black enrollment may adversely affect white students' attitudes toward desegregation.

Research reviewed in connection with this study corroborated the existence of a "tipping point" in desegregated schools. That is, if black enrollment in the school were to exceed 45 per cent, black values would be too much in evidence, whites and blacks would tend to divide along racial lines, and whites would be inclined to drop out; thus increasing the black percentage. Another possible explanation for the negative desegregation attitudes of white students was that a black majority enhances the recurrent white fear of being "swamped," placing whites in a minority position to which they were not accustomed.

This "tipping point" pattern suggests a strong need for further research on student racial composition and attitudes toward desegregation. If further studies bear out the finding of this study, new desegregation techniques, wherever possible, will be highly in order to insure white majorities. For example, again where possible, states might be led or compelled to restructure municipal boundaries so as to take in a sufficient number of whites to make predominantly white schools (i.e., about 60 per cent white) possible.

Students in three school systems with similar percentages of white students (i.e., 91 per cent, 92 per cent, and 92 per cent white) also differed significantly in their attitudes toward desegregation. A variable which may possibly explain this phenomenon was the generally tense relationship between black and white students and black students and white teachers in one school system. It cannot be stated unequivocally that these students' attitudes toward desegregation were significantly affected in negative fashion by tense racial relationships, but it seems unlikely that the school climate had a positive effect on their attitudes.

Interestingly, the positiveness of students' attitudes toward desegregation was not related to the length of time the school had been desegregated. The three school systems with similar percentages of white students had been desegregated five years, nine years, and sixteen years respectively. Students in the school system that had been desegregated for nine years exhibited the most positive attitudes toward desegregation. This finding would seem to suggest that the general quality of the student's experience in a desegregated school would be more important than region of state or length of time the school has been desegregated.

Ancillary findings concerning the positiveness of students' attitudes toward desegregation as related to the amount of prior exposure to a desegregated situation indicated that the more time students spent in a desegregated situation, the more likely they would exhibit positive attitudes toward desegregation.

Recommendations

As a result of this exploratory field study, the following recommendations are offered:

1. More research is needed relative to black and white students' attitudes toward desegregation using a large random sample from a cross-section of geographic areas within the State of Tennessee. Subsequent research should center its attention on the following variables: region of the state; racial composition of the school system; and size of the minority in the classroom.

2. Chief school administrators and the Educational Opportunities Planning Center at The University of Tennessee should spend a greater proportion of their resources helping other school officials and teachers understand that quality of the students' experiences is a major determinant of whether the school is considered desegregated or integrated, not length of time races have been mixed together in the school. The quality of a student's experience is determined, in part, by the verbal and nonverbal attitudes and behaviors of teachers and administrators, by the content of the curriculum and textbooks, by the experience of students outside the classroom, and the racial mix of the teaching and administrative staff.

3. School administrators should recognize the fact that prior exposure to desegregated situations does not automatically produce positive student desegregation attitudes.

A STUDY OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: SELF-PREDICTION OF BEHAVIOR AND CORRELATES OF SELF-PREDICTION (1955)

Wyman L. Williams, Jr.

This study was designed to provide data that would aid in the anticipation of problems arising in the desegregation of the Oak Ridge, Tennessee, school system. The following attitudinal areas were explored: white students' attitude toward black students, attitude of white students toward black teachers, white students' perception of their parents' attitudes toward a desegregated school system, attitude of black students toward white students, attitude of black students toward white teachers, black students' perception of their parents' attitudes toward a desegregated school system, attitude of white teachers toward black students, and the attitude of white teachers toward black teachers.

All areas selected had behavioral referents and were scaled by use of the Guttman scale analysis procedure after they had been administered to a very substantial proportion (1212 white students, 64 black students, and 109 white teachers) of the 1955 Oak Ridge city school system population. Demographic data were obtained from school records and relationships between scale scores and various demographic variables were analyzed.

It was found that high educational level of parents and high occupational level of the father were both associated with favorable attitudes toward black students and teachers on the part of both white students and their parents (as perceived by the students).

It was found that high intelligence was associated with the same trend of attitudes noted directly above as far as white students were concerned, but no relation between intelligence and attitudes was found in the group of black students.

Female white students were found to have more favorable attitudes toward black students and teachers than male students. No sex differences were found with respect to perception of parents' attitudes by white students. No sex differences were found in the black group. With respect to white teachers, the data suggested that male white teachers were more receptive toward black teachers than female white teachers.

White students whose first educational experience was in the "Deep South," states with more than 30 per cent black population, (Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and the District of Columbia) were significantly less receptive to black students and teachers than students whose first educational experience was in a state where blacks constituted less than 10 per cent of the population. It was also apparent that students from these states per-

ceived the attitudes of their parents as being less favorable to school desegregation.

A slight trend in the direction of younger students of both races being more favorably inclined toward the opposite race than older students was noted.

The data suggested that white students who did not live with both parents were more receptive to black students and teachers than students who lived with both parents.

No significant relationship was found between the following variables and any of the scales: length of time in the Oak Ridge school system, number of different school systems attended outside of Oak Ridge, and teacher attitudes.

A STUDY OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: ATTITUDE CHANGE AND SCALE VALIDATION (1956)

Paul G. Whitmore, Jr.

Introduction

This study was the second phase of a research propect dealing with racial desegregation by the school system at Oak Ridge, Tennessee. The first phase was conducted by W. L. Williams in the Spring of 1955, and is discussed above.

The present study was concerned with the determination of magnitude and direction of attitude change among white students five months after the influx of black students into the previously all-white schools and with the evaluation of one of Williams' scales as a predictor of manifest behavior.

Procedures

A scale of attitude toward blacks constructed by W. L. Williams, Jr. by the Guttman technique and composed of items having behavioral referents was administered to the eighth grade students at two junior high schools and the tenth and twelfth grade students at a senior high school. Although all three schools had desegregated five months prior to the administration of the scale, one of the junior high schools did not have any black students in attendance.

Williams had administered the same scale to the eighth grade students at the two junior high schools and the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grade students at the senior high school in the previous spring before desegregation occurred.

Discussion and Conclusions

The most significant finding of this study was the demonstration that scale scores among the white students decreased following desegregation in the Oak Ridge School System. That is, attitudes of white students changed in a negative direction between the first and second administration of Williams' scale. This finding held up in all three schools including the junior high school that had no blacks in attendance even after desegregation occurred. Nor were any overall sex differences found.

Analysis of pre- and post-desegregation scores of 195 twelfth grade students demonstrated that direction of attitude change *per se* was not related to opportunity for intergroup classroom contact, sex, intelligence, vocational status of father, or initial attitude. It was suggested that the fact of desegregation had stimulated behavioral expressions of attitude, and that it was the increased expression of attitude rather than intergroup contact that had been instrumental in effecting the decrease in scale scores.

Two approaches to the problem of validation were utilized. The first approach consisted of the construction of a scale by a modified Guttman technique in which the items referred to the past occurrence of behaviors involving blacks. Using this scale as the criterion measure, it was found that the correlation coefficient between the criterion scale and the first administration of Williams' scale increased proportionately, as subjects having little or no intergroup classroom contact were deleted from the analysis.

The second approach utilized two groups of subjects drawn from each extreme of the distribution of the first administration of Williams' scale. These subjects were introduced into an experimental situation in which they responded silently to a series of ambiguous stimuli in the presence of a black and white confederate who responded aloud. A significant mean difference between the two groups was obtained with the pro-black subjects agreeing more with the black confederate than did the anti-black subjects, but the association between attitude and responses in this situation was not significant.

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE ATTITUDES OF SELECTED NEGRO STUDENTS TOWARD SCHOOL, AND SOME FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE THESE ATTITUDES (1970)

Joseph W. Westbrook

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to determine what attitudes selected black students had toward school. It was also designed to

analyze selected variables and measure their relationships with the attitudes toward school.

The sub-problems of this study included the analyses of students' attitudes toward teachers, curriculum, home environment and opportunity, friends and schoolmates, and measured their relationsnips to attitude toward school. Relationships between progress in school and attitude toward school was also studied.

Procedure

The population for this study consisted of 440 sixteen-year-old students from nine predominantly black high schools in the city of Memphis. Because Tennessee's compulsory attendance laws are effectively enforced by the attendance division of the Memphis City Schools, the probability of selecting students with varying attitudes was greatest among this age group. Compulsory school attendance affects all children between the ages of seven and seventeen.

An instrument was selected to assess student attitudes. The "Scale to Measure Attitudes Toward High School" edited by H. H. Remmers, Purdue Research Foundation, was used to assess attitude toward school. "An Attitude Scale Measuring Attitude Toward Teachers," also from the Purdue Research Foundation, was used to assess attitude toward teachers. Attitude scales were developed by the investigator to measure attitudes oward curriculum, home, environment and opportunity, and friends and schoolmates. The items on these scales were field tested with four different groups of students. A modified P-Q technique was used to assign scale values for each of the items. Each scale value was then multiplied by a common factor to equate these scales with the Purdue Scales. Attitudes were identified as positive or negative, based on the comparison of the mean scores of this population with the established mean scores for each of the attitude scales. Mean scores above the established means indicated positive attitudes toward the respective variables.

The Pearson product moment correlation coefficient was used to test relationship between attitude toward school and each of the variables: teachers, curriculum, home, environment and opportunity, friends and schoolmates. The analysis of variance and t-test were used to test relationship between progress in school and attitude toward school. An item analysis was performed on each of the items in the instrument to determine the patterns of responses.

Findings

The major findings of the study were:

1. There were significant relationships among attitudes toward school and teachers, curriculum, home, environment and opportunity, and peers and schoolmates.

2. The sampled group of students had positive attitudes toward school and teachers. The correlation between the two variables was 0.5495.

3. There was a positive attitude toward curriculum among the students in this study. The correlation of this variable with attitude toward school was 0.5669. The students had a positive attitude toward friends and schoolmates which correlated with their attitude toward school.

Discussion

Item analysis revealed the frequency distribution of the responses for each of the items. This analysis provided means for identifying the types of items that produced the positive attitudes toward each of the variables.

The analysis of the attitude toward school items showed that the respondents' strongest feelings about school centered around those items that reflected more immediate and personal benefits. That is, Item 4, "It helps one to get a job if he has a high school diploma," received the highest per cent of positive responses. Items 7, "High school may be all right, but I don't think it does any good," 11, "In high school students learn to disrespect everything of high idealistic character," and 16, "I can learn more working on a job than in high school" were the only negative ones that did not receive a significant number of positive responses.

The two items that dealt with parents' aspirations received the second and third highest perecentage of positive responses. Eighty-six per cent of the respondents agreed that their parents did not want them to quit school, and ninety-two per cent felt that their parents wanted them to do well in school. The analysis of the responses to attitude toward environment, home and opportunity indicated that the positiveness was due in part to: the strong desires of parents for students to remain in school and do well; the positive forces of adults in the community; and the optimistic feeling of the students about their futures.

The single item that received the highest per cent of positive responses was in the attitude toward curriculum section. Ninety-six per cent of the respondents felt that "teachers should allow students to discuss their ideas about subjects." The attitude toward curriculum section also received the highest per cent of positive responses to negative items. The positive items received less than a significant per cent of negative responses. These items expressed what students would like to do and what they felt teachers should do. The percentage of positive responses decreased as the items reflected more of the actual classroom activities. The number of positive responses

to all negative items was considered of significance because this number constituted more than 16.5 per cent of the respondents.

The item analysis also revealed that when items dealt with the personal performance of the student, as far as doing well in school was involved, a larger proportion above the majority showed a favorable attitude toward school. Those items relating to peer loyalty received majority responses in favor of friends and schoolmates. Very significant minorities, more than 16.5 per cent of the respondents who were in agreement with most of the negative items, tended to neutralize the favorable attitude toward school as related to attitude toward friends and schoolmates.

Conclusions

Based on these findings, several conclusions may be drawn regarding black students and their parents.

1. These students had a positive attitude toward school with the expectation of certain personal benefits. These centered around such benefits as better jobs and more money, feelings of worth through self-confidence and the desire to do well in school.

2. Parents apparently have high aspirations for these students. The majority of students reported that their parents wanted them to remain in school and do well.

3. Teachers apparently do not exhibit a sufficient sensitivity in interpersonal relationships with students. A significant number of respondents felt that the very personal teacher traits, such as giving individual help willingly, teaching students how to study, understanding young people, being patient, being concerned about students' learning, and making subject matter interesting were lacking among their teachers.

4. The sample group of students were very optimistic about the future. This optimism seems due in part to the strong belief in the benefits of education, the desires of parents, the encouragement of adults in the community, and positive attitudes toward the community in which the students reside.

5. The curriculum needs to be examined very carefully and revised to meet more adequately the felt needs of these students. Forty-three per cent agreed that school work has no meaning to them.

6. Student behavior and attitudes in school were influenced by peers. Although the majority of respondents indicated performance, a significant number indicated stronger allegiance to peer influence. This minority could alter the performance pattern of a school.

The positiveness of these students' attitudes toward school and toward teachers compares favorably with those of students in other parts of the country. The Purdue Research Foundation scales were

both normalized with a large sample of students. In fact, a comparison would place these students well above the average student who has responded to these attitude scales.

Implications

This was an exploratory study. Many things were revealed that have implications for further study, observation and research.

1. Additional student attitudinal studies should be conducted. These could be within school, area or city-wide studies.

2. Action research should be conducted for the purpose of determining what teacher and pupil practices promote the most harmonious productive relationship and environment. These could be in-depth within school studies or city-wide or area studies using representative samples of students and teachers.

3. Curriculum revision or redesign seems vitally necessary to the success of these students. Areas of research concentration should include:

a. *Teacher-pupil classroom roles.* How can the teacher move from a position of dominance and control to one of assistance and sharing, while at the same time keeping class activities centered on the lesson? What kind of curricular arrangements will assist the teacher most effectively in this new role?

b. *Homework.* Should homework be assigned? If so, how much and what value should it receive? Should school staffs develop coordinated systems of assigning homework?

c. *Classroom discussion.* Fifty per cent of the respondents expressed the desire for sharing in the discussion of what they should study. If education is to continue to equip and prepare young people to function effectively in a democratic society, to what extent should it limit the democratic process in the area of curriculum? To what extent should curriculum be prescribed and proscribed?

In conclusion, this study seems to imply the need for more communication between students, and their teachers, principals and school administrators. School people need to listen more seriously to what students have to say, especially in the areas of curriculum and teacher relations. As indicated by the students in this study, there is a strong desire on the part of students to be heard and to participate in decision making that affects their future.

A STUDY OF BIRACIAL INTERACTION IN A RACIALLY BALANCED SCHOOL (1970)

William F. Smith

Problem

The problem of this study derives from the question: Since the school has been designated a prime agency to effect integration, are there treatments or procedures which can be used in schools to promote social integration?

The hypothesis is that there will be an increase in interaction of members of the opposite race as the result of the four treatments described in this study. For purposes of this study, the .05 level of significance was set as the rejection point of the hypothesis.

Procedure

The study was basically designed as an experiment consisting of four treatment groups and a control group. Racial isolates were identified from sociometric data. Four treatments were applied: teacher reinforcement, peer reinforcement, role modeling and biracial triads, and group process. These were analyzed in relation to a control group after a twenty weeks' treatment period from early January to mid-May, 1970. Data for the study were derived from behavior observation, a semantic differential, and a sociometric device requiring responses to eight social situations.

Effects of specific treatments were established by using a mixed analysis of variance design where the between variables were the four treatments (and control group) and race of subjects. The within variable was performance data—baseline data (pre-treatment) vs. treatment assessment (post-treatment).

Results

In the analysis of biracial behavior, with nonverbal and verbal categories combined, a repetition main effect indicated that all groups combined increased significantly ($p = .03$) from pre- to post-treatment. Interactions between pre- and post-tests and groups did not yield significant results ($p = .10$). Neither did interactions among the three main variables ($p = .59$).

Another important dependent variable was total racial isolation. The total racial isolation scores were computed from the biracial choices and rejections for the eight sociometric situations. Primarily because of a reduction in biracial rejections, all groups improved on the total racial isolation indices. Within these groups, whites improved more than blacks.

A third major dependent variable was related to expressed biracial attitudes as measured by the semantic differential. None of the

treatment groups improved on this index. In fact, most of the groups declined slightly.

Conclusions

Considerations for the application of the findings of this study should be limited to the age level (junior high school) and to a low socioeconomic setting comparable to that in which the study was made. Certain findings seem closely related to the behavioral patterns of young adolescents; certain findings seem closely related to the life styles generally ascribed to those in situations of poverty. It can not, therefore, be inferred that the findings will or will not apply equally to older or younger students or to those in other socioeconomic conditions. Further study will be needed for these determinations.

On the basis of the findings which accrued from the original research design for this study, it was hazardous to affirm the superiority of any one treatment in changing interracial measures. On both the behavioral interaction and total racial isolation indices, the control group yielded the least positive changes of any treatment group within the school.

In analysis of group change means only, peer reinforcement made the greatest gains on biracial behavioral interaction but ranked fourth on total racial isolation changes (positive) and last on semantic differential changes. In analysis of racial change means, peer reinforcement ranked first for black subjects and fourth for white subjects. The post-treatment mean for black subjects was 2.67 times that at pre-treatment level, as compared to a gain ratio of 1.54 for white subjects. In the ranking of gain ratios for all groups by race, peer reinforcement black ranked third among the ten sub-groups, and peer reinforcement white ranked sixth. Here it should be noted that first and second ranks on gain ratios were achieved by role modeling black, and role modeling white, and that this technique relates closely to peer reinforcement. The trend in relation to behavioral interaction for peer reinforcement is obviously positive, particularly for black subjects. This trend suggests a strong need for further research and for the development of varying techniques of teacher reinforcement; for teachers have tended to separate peers who attract each other and thus, from the teachers' viewpoint, distract attention from teachers. If further studies bear out the trend of this study, new classroom techniques for the use of peer reinforcement will be highly in order.

Although in the ranking of group changes role modeling ranked third, this technique should be considered in close relation to peer reinforcement, which it resembles closely, and with regard to the ratios of gain by group and by race. The group mean, after twenty

weeks of treatment, was 4.39 times that at pre-treatment level — the highest gain ratio for any group. For black subjects the ratio of gain was 5.00, and for white students the ratio was 3.5. On the ranking of racial ratios of gain, role modeling and biracial triads black ranked first, and role modeling and biracial triads white ranked second among the ten sub-groups.

Teacher reinforcement ranked second on the ranking of group change means for biracial interaction, first on semantic differential changes, third on total racial isolation scores. When total rank, derived from both the rank order of behavioral interaction group mean changes and the rank order of group mean changes on pencil-and-paper measures were assessed, teacher reinforcement ranked first. Here again, however, the ranking of differences and of ratio of gains by race were revealing. Second place ranking of differences for teacher reinforcement prevailed for both black and white subjects. On ratio gains, teacher reinforcement white ranked fourth among the ten sub-groups with a gain ratio of 2.29, and teacher reinforcement black ranked fifth with a gain ratio of 1.73, almost exactly reversing the ratio of gain for peer reinforcement. The implications for revised teaching techniques previously mentioned were further borne out in this analysis.

On all analyses except the rank order of group mean changes for total racial isolation scores (reflecting number of biracial rejections given and received and mutual biracial choices), group process ranked consistently low. While this may have been accounted for by the disciplinary problems which confounded the treatment, it must be recognized that such problems are likely to exist in many such school settings where the treatments might be applied.

A factor which may have limited pre-post differences in the dependent measures was the time at which the post-treatment assessment was made. The highest point of biracial interaction might have been obtained near the mid-point of treatment application. Observational data on the independent variables indicate that most treatments were being most effectively applied near the mid-point of the program. Some subjects appeared to have tired of biracial interaction by the end of the treatments. This would imply a need to vary the application of each treatment in a long-range effort.

A variable which may have militated against more consistent success was the generally tense relationship between blacks and whites in the city of Chattanooga. This tension finally resulted in a school-wide racial confrontation at the school in which the study was conducted. The confrontation produced immediate and complete polarization between black and white students. Although a major riot was averted, police occupied the building for more than a week, and many white students did not return to school for several

days. Some students dropped from school after the confrontation. For example, a white student in the teacher reinforcement group who had established tremendous rapport with several black isolates transferred to another school the week following the confrontation. It would not be fair to contend that the post-treatment assessment would have yielded more positive measures had the confrontation not occurred; but, on the other hand, the effect of the confrontation on the biracial program could certainly not be construed as a positive one.

The effectiveness of treatments such as those applied in the present study may be limited by all the other factors in the school, community, and society which militate against interracial harmony. Although several suggestions have been offered in this document with respect to more effective ways to apply the treatments, no other educational model is known which is likely to produce more positive results than those obtained in the present study.

Finally, while the inconsistent results of this study do not warrant acceptance of the hypothesis, the trends of the findings do favor treatment over nontreatment, and they do carry a strong implication that future treatment efforts of this nature may yield significant results which can be of major importance for educators engaged in the difficult task of effecting racial integration in the nation's schools.

AN EVALUATION OF THE EFFECTS OF SMALL GROUP COUNSELING WITH BLACK ADOLESCENTS (1966)

Burl E. Gilliland

Purpose

The purpose of the study was to evaluate the outcomes of small group counseling with black high school students in the technical and scientific community of Oak Ridge, Tennessee, where the black minority was about six per cent of the student population in a large, competitive, academically-oriented public high school. The investigation sought to determine whether small group counseling for an academic year could produce statistically significant changes in: (1) academic achievement in verbal skills of vocabulary, reading, and English usage as measured by the Cooperative English Achievement Tests; (2) school grades; (3) occupational aspirations as determined by the Occupational Aspiration Scale; (4) vocational maturity as rated on the Vocational Development Inventory; (5) self-concept as measured by the Index of Adjustment and Values; (6) school attendance; and (7) movement or change of counselees' expression of feeling or involvement between periods in the study as

judged by the Experiencing Scale of the Process Rating Scale for Psycho-therapeutic Interviews. A secondary objective was to provide opportunities for protocol evaluations and counselor observation of affective behavior of students during the group process.

Methods and Procedures Used

Two experimental groups and two control groups were randomly drawn from the black population of the school. The organizational structure was:

Experimental Groups		*Control Groups*	
I	7 Boys	II	8 Boys
III	7 Girls	IV	8 Girls

Experimental groups participated in group counseling with the same male counselor (the writer) one hour each week for thirty-six weeks. Control groups received no group counseling. Pre- and post-tests were administered to all experimental and control subjects; in addition, the personal scales and inventories were also administered to experimental subjects at mid-year. Statistical treatment of test results was the least-squares analysis of data with unequal subclass numbers, employing the matrix inversion method of solving for partial regression coefficients. Tables of analyses of variance were thus provided.

Summary of Findings

Group counseling was concluded to be an invaluable resource in improving scholastic achievement and coping behavior of black adolescents. The principal findings were:

1. Experimental groups showed gains, compared with control groups, at the .01 level of significance, in vocabulary, reading, English usage, occupational aspiration, and vocational maturity.

2. Gains in grade-point averages approached significance.

3. Experimental subjects showed a decline, which approached significance, in self-concept. (This indicated more realistic self-appraisal.)

4. No significant differences were attributable to sex.

5. Ratings on the Experiencing Scale showed positive movement, between periods in the counseling, of experimental subjects toward *inward references:* degree of involvement of experimental girls reached optimum at mid-year; experimental boys — progressing more slowly — reached optimum near the end of the year.

5. No appreciable differences in attendance percentages were noted between groups.

7. Mid-year tests of experimental subjects indicated no significant difference between pre- and mid-year tests on any academic or personal measure except that experimental boys' scores showed a decline in self-concept (Index of Adjustment and Values) at the .01 level of significance. (This finding correlates with other research which has indicated that adolescent black males tended to "overrate" themselves on self-concept scales in an effort to enhance their self-esteem in the face of prejudice). The degree of negative difference of measured self-concept was greater between pre- and mid-year testing than between pre- and post-tests. Counseling apparently reduced the tendency to compensate.

Conclusions Based on Analysis of Taped Protocols and Counselor Observation of Group Counseling Sessions

1. One of the primary expressed concerns of adolescent black males was vocations and vocational planning; adolescent black females expressed a greater concern about social adjustment and social acceptance.

2. Although the expressive actions of black adolescents portrayed predominantly non-cognitive, blustery, physical patterns of behavior, there emerged a manifest desire for successful scholastic achievement which had been carefully masked by overt activities. Long-term group counseling appeared to produce in students a revised conceptual model of the ideal self, prompting individuals — especially males — to acquire and use such academic skills as listening and studying to the degree that functional classroom success was obtained.

3. A longer period was required to achieve productive rapport with black boys than with black girls.

4. Black girls shed their inhibitions more quickly than the boys, and they seemed to have keener, more valid perceptions of interpersonal relations than the boys.

5. Short-term group counseling appears to produce little change in the scholastic or affective functioning of black adolescents; long-term group counseling appears to produce significant change in both scholastic and affective functioning.

6. Long-term group counseling appears to enhance individual black counselees' competency to cope sucessfully with the total environment.

Problems for Further Study

Several problems needing further investigation (both closely relevant to this study as well as tangentially connected problems) have been raised during the course of this year of experimentation:

1. What would be the effects of integrating the groups for

counseling (to include both white and black students in experimental groups, or to include mixing of the sexes)?

2. What would be the effects when both black and white, male and female counselors with various groups were used?

3. What would be the effects varying the size of groups (e.g., suppose a group of 21 counselees were selected and given concurrent counseling as a group of 21, as three groups of 7, and as individuals)?

SECTION II:
STUDIES BEARING PRIMARILY UPON TEACHERS

INTRODUCTION

It is a widely acknowledged fact that: (1) teachers' attitudes have an effect on students' attitudes and (2) the success or failure of racial desegregation in the schools is strongly influenced by the attitudes of teachers. As more and more school systems have been required by court decisions to desegregate and eradicate the vestiges of separate educational experiences for black and white youth, teachers' attitudes about the change have become increasingly important to researchers. The ten studies in this section were designed specifically to examine problems related to staff desegregation and/or situational variables which may influence teachers' attitudes about the desegregation process. Two of the studies investigated problems and patterns of professional staff desegregation in selected states. Two were concerned with the geographical location of the school system and teachers' attitudes regarding desegregation. Two explored problems related to desegregation of schools and apprehensiveness of teachers in minority situations. Three were conducted to ascertain teachers' reactions to faculty desegregation. One study sought to identify areas of agreement between racial groups concerning acceptable approaches to school desegregation.

Among the major findings of these studies were the following: (1) School systems should have a definite plan of action in desegregating professional staffs and students. Where possible, teachers and students should be involved in the initial planning for desegregation. (2) Rural and suburban teachers are likely to have similar attitudes regarding desegregation; however, East Tennessee teachers exhibited more positive attitudes than West Tennessee teachers.

(3) Black teachers are more apprehensive about working in schools where their race is in the minority than are white teachers. (4) The most effective white teachers in desegregated situations exhibited the least positive reactions to faculty desegregation. In addition, the race of the teacher appeared to influence his commitment to faculty desegregation much more than the racial composition of his school's student body. (5) It appears that both black and white teachers perceived a need to include blacks on all administrative levels and on school boards in the decision-making process relating to school desegregation.

PROBLEMS AND PATTERNS OF STAFF DESEGREGATION WITH IMPLICATIONS FOR TENNESSEE (1963)

Pearl K. Gunter

The purpose of the study was to identify the problems and patterns of professional staff desegregation in the public school systems in selected states. The study was limited to public school systems in geographical areas which, prior to the United States Supreme Court's 1954 decision, supported or permitted segregated schools. The study was further limited to those systems that had initiated programs of staff desegregation. Thus, the study included fifty-one systems located in Delaware, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky Maryland, Missouri, Ohio, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia.

An exploration of existing literature and utilization of various resources were essential steps taken to locate systems operating with desegregated staffs.

A questionnaire with three major parts was designed to gain both facts and judgments relative to staff desegregation. Part A was designed to gain relevant information about the status of staff desegregation. Part B included a check list of problems confronted in staff desegregation. Part C sought an identification of the attitudes of the community toward staff desegregation and the methods employed in the preparation of the general public, teachers, and students for staff desegregation.

The data for the investigation were supplied by the superintendents of the systems included in the study or by an individual whom the superintendent felt was most cognizant of the patterns and problems of staff desegregation in the school system.

The following represent major findings of the study:

1. Of the black central office staff employed by the participating systems, all were reported to be working with black and white teachers.

2. Eighty-nine of the black principals included in the study had white teachers assigned to their schools.

3. Black females were assigned to a majority of the school systems when only one teacher of a different race was reported to be instructing in a desegregated school.

4. The establishment of a similar ratio between the number of teachers of a particular race and the number of students of the same race was reported in only one instance.

5. The systems reporting the adoption of board policy relative to staff desegregation employed larger percentages of black teachers in desegregated schools than systems indicating that no board policy had been adopted.

6. Most of the systems, 56.86 per cent, reported that staff desegregation was completed the first year. Of the remaining systems, 35.30 per cent reported various patterns of the gradual approach, while 7.84 per cent did not reveal the pattern employed in desegregating their staffs.

7. A majority of the participants felt that race relations and the morale of teachers and students had remained unchanged since staff desegregation. A lesser number felt that these conditions were improved, but none reported them worse since staff desegregation.

8. Careful planning with faculty and students was the step taken most frequently to ease racial tensions when desegregating professional staffs. Careful selection of black teachers, a positive stand by the board and superintendent, and the desegregation of other community and educational activities were other steps taken by many of the respondents to ease racial tensions.

Thirty-three problems experienced by school systems when desegregating their staffs were listed in the questionnaire. The respondents were asked to check the degree to which the problems were encountered in desegregating the staffs of their respective systems.

All of the problems were encountered by some of the systems, with one exception. While few respondents checked "never" in response to all of the problems, the data did not reveal that any one system experienced a significantly large percentage of the problems. Some of the most frequently mentioned problems were:

1. *Discipline.* A slightly greater percentage of the respondents indicated that disciplinary problems were most frequent in classrooms of black teachers in predominantly white schools than in classrooms of white teachers in predominantly black schools. The greater number of black teachers in predominantly white schools may have accounted for this finding.

2. *Student-teacher relationship.* White and black students were apparently resentful toward teachers of a different race to nearly the same degree. Although resentment on the part of students toward a teacher of a different race was not a problem "very often" or even "often," 43.14 per cent of the respondents indicated that white students were occasionally resentful toward black teachers and 41.18 per cent indicated that black students were at times resentful toward white teachers.

3. *Incompetent Black Teachers.* The problem producing the strongest reactions was that black teachers were not as well prepared professionally as white teachers. Although 58.83 per cent felt this was never a problem and emphasized their positions by writing in comments to this effect, it was the only problem receiving the weight of "very often." Likewise, it was the only problem receiving some degree of importance in all of the weights. Of the respondents, 31.36 per cent indicated that this was a problem in varying degrees.

The respondents having experienced staff desegregation were asked to make suggestions to other systems anticipating staff desegregation. The following suggestions may have implications for Tennessee school systems anticipating staff desegregation.

a. It is important to have a definite plan of action in desegregating professional staffs. A statement of policy should be developed with provisions made for its continued implementation.
b. Individual systems differ; therefore, each system should assume the responsibility for the development of a plan for staff desegregation that will facilitate smooth implementation.
c. The cooperation of the community, teachers, and students was essential for successful staff desegregation. This was best accomplished by including the community, teachers, and students in the initial stages of the planning process.
d. The goodwill and cooperation of the newspaper and other news media were necessary to avoid misunderstanding and undesirable publicity.
e. When using the gradual approach to staff desegregation, the teachers chosen to desegregate should be of the highest calibre.
f. Special effort should be made for the involvement of black and white teachers on committee assignments and in in-service meetings and professional associations to establish professional lines of communication.
g. Sound educational leadership was essential for effective implementation of staff desegregation.

Conclusions

1. The majority of the systems included in this investigation reported complete staff desegregation, but due to the small number of black teachers employed in most of the systems, it appeared that their interpretation of complete staff desegregation was very narrow.

2. Problems related to staff desegregation as identified in a survey of the literature were seldom reported as being encountered by school systems participating in this study.

PROCESSES AND PROBLEMS RELATED TO DESEGREGATION IN A GROUP OF PREDOMINANTLY RURAL SCHOOL DISTRICTS (1967)*

J. C. Owens

The general purpose of the investigation was to examine the status, process, and problems relative to school desegregation in the junior and senior high schools located in selected school systems in the Tennessee State Department of Education Supervisory Region I of West Tennessee. More specifically, the present investigation gave attention to the following questions:

1. What was the extent of staff and pupil desegregation in the junior and senior high schools of the school systems?

2. What were the administrative and organizational arrangements used to accomplish staff and pupil desegregation in the junior and senior high schools?

3. What problems were occasioned by desegregation?

4. What was the effect of desegregation in the junior and senior high schools on race relations, pupil morale, and the instructional program?

5. What suggestions did the administrators involved have relative to the desegregation process for other school districts?

The basic method utilized in attacking the problem under consideration was the interview. More specifically, the researcher, using an interview guide, held interviews with sixteen superintendents and eighteen junior and senior high school principals employed in the sixteen school systems studied. Collectively, the school systems included 9,514 black pupils, 25,542 white pupils, 357 black teachers, 1,015 white teachers, fourteen black principals, thirty-four white principals, seventeen junior high schools, twenty-one high schools, and sixty-two central office staff members (one black and sixty-one white).

*Specialist in Education Thesis.

Discussion

Based on the data collected as a part of the present investigation, the findings revealed adequate evidence to support the following generalizations relative to the sixteen school systems involved in the investigation.

1. The extent of pupil desegregation was limited. In effect, pupil desegregation constituted little more than the "tokenism" referred to by many critics. Also, relative to extent, teacher desegregation was even more limited, and desegregation at the administrative level was nil.

2. Administrative planning for the desegregation process was inadequate. This generalization seems to be supported by the evidence related to the overcrowded conditions of the formerly all white schools, the absence of policy in several systems, and rulings handed down by the courts. If the administrative planning had been adequate, it would have probably been unnecessary to have court rulings as a basis for desegregation. Further, there probably would not have been the problem of overcrowding of the formerly all white schools.

3. The problems related to the black pupil attending the formerly all white schools were not of the magnitude that many alarmists would have expected. In fact, the major problems related to pupils were ones of white pupils being hostile toward black pupils and the tendency on the part of black pupils to form cliques. These two problems could perhaps be expected with a great deal of frequency in view of the cultural background of the pupils. That is, the white pupils had lived in a culture where there was a considerable amount of animosity toward blacks as a group, not necessarily toward individuals. It might have been expected that this would have reflected itself to a certain degree in hostility toward black pupils. Further, the black pupils had been reared in a dual culture where they had limited contact with white pupils. Therefore, a tendency to form cliques might have been an expected outgrowth of the black pupils' previous behavior. Problems related to physical violence between black and white pupils, the language barriers that the black pupils and the white teacher would encounter, the poor grooming of black pupils, and the cleanliness of black pupils, did not exist to any appreciable extent.

4. In view of the fact that no serious handicaps to the instructional programs were reported by the administrators, it would also seem that the great fear that many alarmists have had in regard to lowering the caliber of instruction was not justified. In only one instance was less comprehensiveness of the instructional program mentioned by superintendents, and it was only mentioned by four principals. In most cases, it seemed to have had no visible impact.

Perhaps the most justifiable generalization in this regard would be that pupil desegregation had no visible effect on the instructional program.

There seemed to be some tentative evidence to suggest that to achieve pupil and staff desegregation in a reasonably orderly fashion at least four guidelines are pertinent:

1. There is a need for detailed advanced planning on the part of the administrative staff. This planning must take into account the location of the pupils, the physical facilities, the nature of the instructional program, and the nature of the black and white communities.

2. There is a need for early and rather complete communication in regard to the desegregation process. This communication must give attention to who is involved, the timing, the expectancy of the school system and the policy of the board of education. The communication must be directed to both the black and white communities, the advocates of desegregation, and the opponents of desegregation.

3. The most feasible approach to desegregation at the pupil level is probably to close the "black schools." This is in opposition to the "from the top down," "from the bottom up," or "selected desegregation." It is in essence an "all at once" approach. This seems to be advantageous in systems such as the ones studied in view of cultural traditions, the congestion of black pupils, and the kind of timidity that may exist in the black community.

4. It appears to be advantageous to desegregate as rapidly as possible. This is nothing more than a restatement of the third suggestion, because if black schools are closed, this will in effect mean rapid desegregation. Moreover, this guideline is advanced in view of the fact that the school systems that reported in the study the achievement of the highest degree of desegregation were those systems where this approach was taken.

In regard to the four suggestions just enumerated, it should be noted that the suggestions relative to communication and advance planning are consistent with the suggestions made in the literature by Dunn[1] and by Wey and Corey.[2] The guideline related to the closing of black schools and rapid desegregation may not have support in the literature unless the percentage of black pupils is so small that the cost of maintaining separate and equal facilities is exorbitant. However, this guideline seems quite feasible in school systems similar to the ones studied, since the systems achieving the greatest de-

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[1]Frederick Luther Dunn Jr., "Programs and Procedures of Desegregation" (unpublished doctoral thesis, The University of Maryland, Montgomery County, Maryland, 1959).

[2]Herbert Wey and John Corey, *Action Patterns in School Desegregation* (Bloomington Indiana: Phi Delta Kappa, Inc., 1959), p. 96.

gree of desegregation were the ones that completed the process in either one year or not more than two years.

As was previously noted, the basic technique for gathering the data for the present investigation was the interview. It is generally recognized that the success of the interview is to a large extent dependent upon the level of rapport which is achieved between the interviewer and the interviewee. Further, it is generally recognized that what is verbalized in an interview situation may or may not be consistent with the beliefs which will guide the interviewee's behavior. The afore-mentioned concepts are particularly appropriate in the case of the present investigation, since the interviewer was black, and all of the interviewees were white. Therefore, as the findings of the study are considered, it must be kept in mind that the administrators interviewed may have been reluctant to express their true opinions, and further, out of deference to the writer's race, they may have been reluctant to express the true extent of any negative opinion which they held.

SECONDARY TEACHER ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOL INTEGRATION IN THREE SELECTED WEST TENNESSEE COUNTIES (1971)

Currie P. Boyd

This study was conducted to measure the attitudes of black and white secondary teachers in Fayette, Haywood, and Shelby Counties of West Tennessee toward school integration. The study further sought to determine differences in attitudes toward school integration between secondary teachers in rural and suburban schools in these same counties.

A questionnaire was administered to two hundred and fourteen teachers in eleven schools for the purpose of assessing attitudes. Ninety-four of these teachers taught in suburban schools of Shelby County; forty teachers taught in rural schools of Shelby County, and seventy teachers taught in rural schools of Fayette and Haywood Counties. All secondary schools in Fayette and Haywood Counties were classified as rural in this study. Shelby County had both rural and suburban schools.

The questionnaire consisted of twenty-nine questions. This questionnaire was divided into two parts for the purpose of ranking. The first part consisted of eleven questions related to students.

The major hypothesis that teacher attitudes toward school integration were related to race and school location was tested by the following subhypotheses:

1. There will be no significant difference between the attitudes of black and white teachers in Fayette and Haywood Counties.

2. There will be no significant difference between the attitudes of black and white rural secondary teachers in Shelby County.

3. There will be no significant difference between the attitudes of Shelby County black and white suburban secondary teachers.

4. There will be no significant difference between the attitudes of black and white secondary teachers in the study population.

5. There will be no significant difference between the attitudes of secondary teachers in Fayette and Haywood Counties and secondary teachers in the study population.

5. There will be no significant difference between the attitudes of secondary teachers in Fayette and Haywood Counties and secondary teachers in Shelby County.

6. There will be no significant difference between the attitudes of Shelby County rural and suburban secondary teachers.

The findings indicated that race was a significant variable affecting the respondent's attitudes toward integration. That is, in all instances involving race (Ho1, Ho2, Ho3, and Ho4), black secondary teachers had significantly more favorable attitudes toward integration than their white counterparts.

A summary of responses by race for the total population group indicated that both black and white secondary teachers' most negative answers dealt with questions concerning intimate interpersonal relationships, i.e., dancing, dating, or marrying a member of the opposite race. The questions that received the most positive answers from the two racial groups were of a general nature and did not involve deep seated feelings, e.g., questions concerning membership in the school's band or eligibility of teachers for school committee work.

Eleven questionnaire items concerning student racial relations were ranked according to black and white teacher responses. Again, both racial groups had negative attitudes toward student social activities. That is, black and white teachers were concerned with discipline and feared racial clashes might result from interracial social activities. It was felt that interracial dating and dancing would present serious problems for school integration.

School location did not appear to be of great importance, i.e., suburban and rural secondary teachers had similar attitudes toward integration.

Recommendations

As a result of this study, the following recommendations are offered:

1. That teacher attitudes be assessed and teacher placements

made in keeping with student needs that relate to teacher attitudes toward racial groups.

2. That school administrators be trained and selected who have favorable attitudes toward better race relations, domestic ideals, and hence, toward school desegregation.

3. That in-service workshops be conducted to relieve racial tension and promote more favorable attitudes between white and black teachers.

4. That the current practice of removing black principals on racial grounds where schools are desegregated be reversed until the original balance is obtained or an equitable arrangement is made; such as, the placement of black principals where the student body is predominantly black, and the placement of white principals in schools where the student body is predominantly white.

A STUDY OF TEACHER ATTITUDES REGARDING SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN FIVE SELECTED TENNESSEE SCHOOL SYSTEMS (1971)

Steven A. Heller

The major purpose of this study was to explore the nature of the relationships between the desegregation attitudes of Tennessee teachers and certain independent variables. The desegregation attitudes (dependent variables) were measured by a "Desegregation Questionnaire" which was administered to three hundred and seventeen teachers in five school systems located in West and East Tennessee.

The instrument was both factor and cluster analyzed so that the thirty-four items on the questionnaire could be handled most expeditiously. The statistical analyses of the instrument provided six separate and distinct clusters (or factors) of items. These clusters concerned the teachers' feelings about: (1) the school desegregation progress; (2) the community desegregation progress; (3) how the academic quality of the school program was affected by desegregation; (4) how the black and white students were getting along; (5) how the faculty were working together; and (6) whether or not black and white teachers were supported by the principal.

The relationship between these six types of desegregation attitudes and the following independent variables were investigated in this study: (1) the student racial composition of the school; (2) the location of the system in the State of Tennessee (West or East Tennessee); (3) the race of the teacher; (4) the sex of the teacher; (5)

the age of the teacher; (6) the grade taught by the teacher (elementary or high school); and (7) the primary subject area of the high school teacher.

The Kruskal-Wallis One-Way Analysis-of-Variance Test and the Mann-Whitney U Test were used to test statistically these research questions. Both of these nonparametric tests were applied at the .05 level of significance.

Findings concerning the relationships between teacher desegregation attitudes and region of the state and student racial composition indicated some rather interesting conclusions. There seemed to be regional differences in teacher desegregation attitudes: West Tennessee teachers differed significantly from East Tennessee teachers in their attitudes about the school desegregation progress, academic quality, and faculty relations. Only in their view of student racial relations were the West Tennessee teachers more positive than the East Tennessee teachers. This conclusion about regional difference was further supported when teachers from three school systems with *similar* student racial compositions were examined for attitudinal differences. The only ways in which these teachers differed were in their attitudes about school desegregation process and student racial relations. Analysis by the Mann-Whitney U Test revealed that the differences among the three could be attributed to the one system which was located in West Tennessee. Finally, when teachers from three West Tennessee school systems with *varying* racial compositions (i.e., 91, 58, and 49 per cent white) were compared as to their desegregation attitudes, they were found to be significantly different in four of the six desegregation attitudes measured. Interestingly, the Mann-Whitney U Test revealed that the differences between the systems were due to the consistently negative scores of teachers in one system. That is, the system that was 58 per cent white had the most negative attitudes. Since there was no apparent pattern relating the percentage of white students in each system with the positiveness of teacher attitudes, no conclusions could be drawn about the relationship.

Black teachers and white teachers differed significantly in most of their attitudes concerning desegregation: The black teachers were more positive about every aspect of desegregation except faculty relations. Male and female teachers also had a number of significantly different attitudes concerning desegregation, with the male teachers being consistently more negative. Teachers under thirty-one years of age viewed the school desegregation process significantly more positively than teachers over fifty; the converse was true of the two groups with regard to community desegregation progress.

Elementary and high school teachers were significantly different in most of their desegregation attitudes, with the elementary school

teachers being consistently more positive. The findings concerning teachers as categorized in terms of subject matter taught, indicated that only in attitudes about student racial relations were teachers in different subject areas different. Moreover, teachers in the humanities were found to be more negative in their attitudes than were teachers in the physical sciences and practical curricula.

Implications

The implications of this study are subject to the qualifications and limitations specified throughout the investigation. Since this study was exploratory in nature, however, one of its major advantages was that it could point to possible existing relationships. Given the lack of other current and pertinent research in this area, this research may be pragmatically useful until more conclusive research can be obtained. The conclusions and their implications for researchers and other educators interested in improving racial desegregation appeared to merit discussion.

1. Since the teachers from West Tennessee did perceive more desegregation problems in the school, in the academic quality of the school, and in faculty race relations, workshops designed to facilitate the desegregation process might appropriately be designed to concentrate especially upon problems in these specific areas.

2. Since the comparison of school systems with similar racial composition indicated no differences in teacher attitudes (after taking into account regional differences), then it might be possible to predict teacher desegregation attitudes in systems with similar racial compositions. In this case, appropriate in-service training programs could be planned, and it might be assumed that programs successful in one such system would be equally successful in other systems in the same region with the same student racial composition. Obviously, more research in this area should be done before widespread action is launched, based solely upon this assumption.

3. When viewing the findings relating to differences in attitudes between male and female teachers and elementary and high school teachers, it was clear that female teachers and elementary school teachers were significantly different (i.e., more positive) from male teachers and high school teachers, respectively. However, in order to work more effectively with teachers in racial desegregation workshops, it is important to determine which factor — the sex of the teacher or the grade level he teaches — is more closely related to desegregation attitudes. If the sex of the teacher is more important, then research must be conducted to further determine the relationships between sex and desegregation attitudes within each group of teachers (elementary and high school). If sex is indeed a factor, then perhaps institutes which must limit the number of participants might

be designed to encourage greater participation of male teachers rather than accepting males and females indiscriminately.

4. Further research should be conducted to determine whether there is universal relationship between school desegregation attitudes and community desegregation attitudes. If there is an inverse relationship between the two, then it may be advantageous for workshops to concentrate on community-related problems for young teachers and school-related problems for older teachers.

5. When the relationship between the teachers' desegregation attitudes and their subject area was examined, it was evident that humanities teachers were more negative about student racial relations than were physical sciences and practical curricula teachers. This finding may suggest either that humanities teachers were more sensitive to the desegregation problems which were occurring between black and white students, or that the humanities teachers saw the problems as being worse than they actually were. Further research is necessary to understand *why* the groups of teachers differed in their attitude toward student racial relations so that (1) actual conditions of student racial relations may be ascertained, (2) the two groups of teachers may be specifically mixed in workshops to increase the probability of divergent thinking about student racial relations, and (3) if one group of teachers is more accurate in its perceptions than the other, that group may be examined for the enabling skills, and those skills taught to the misinformed group.

A STUDY OF SELECTED APPREHENSIONS OF NEGRO TEACHERS (1969)

Aaron Means, Sr.

This study was conducted to measure selected apprehensions of black teachers in Knoxville, Tennessee, concerning teaching in predominantly white schools. A secondary purpose was to determine whether or not a relationship existed between these apprehensions and certain independent variables. The independent variables were: (1) age; (2) sex; (3) length of service as an educator; (4) level of education; (5) willingness to associate with white people; (6) marital status; (7) student racial composition of respondent undergraduate school; (8) location of college or university attended; and (9) grade level on which the respondent is presently teaching.

The major hypothesis was that a relationship existed between black teacher apprehensions and the above-mentioned independent variables. Nine subhypotheses were advanced, each suggesting a

relationship between apprehension and one of the independent variables. The test instrument was a questionnaire which was administered to one hundred and sixty-eight black teachers in predominantly black schools in Knoxville, Tennessee.

The selected apprehensions were first ranked and apprehension scores were then correlated with age, length of service, and willingness to associate with white people using Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficient. Student racial composition of the respondents' undergraduate school was not tested since only two black teachers had attended predominantly white schools as undergraduates. Finally, the chi-square test was used to determine if a significant relationship existed between the remaining five independent variables and apprehension.

The findings indicated that respondents continued to be slightly apprehensive, particularly about job security, promotions and key assignments. The findings also revealed that a significant relationship existed between: (a) apprehension and willingness to associate with white people, (b) apprehension and the level of education of respondents, and (c) apprehension and grade level on which respondents taught (each at the .05 level of significance).

In summary, the study revealed that black teachers who were most willing to associate with white people were less apprehensive about teaching in predominantly white schools than those who were less willing to associate with whites. The study also revealed that black teachers who have a higher level of education were less apprehensive than those who have less education, and that black secondary teachers were less apprehensive than their elementary school counterparts. Analysis also revealed no significant relationship between apprehension and the respondents' age, sex, marital status, length of service, and the location of the schools where undergraduate training was received. Finally, black teachers were found to be most concerned about key positions and promotions based upon their education and experience.

Recommendations

As a result of this study, the following recommendations are offered:

1. A more positive approach and a more positive attitude need to be taken by administrators from the level of school principal to the superintendency concerning desegregation so as to relieve the apprehensions of black teachers caused by the desegregation process.

2. Follow-up studies should be conducted to measure the extent and means of alleviating apprehensions of black teachers who have already been transferred to predominantly white schools.

3. Blacks should be promoted to positions at the decision-making level so as to have a direct line of communication to and from the black teachers and the black community.

4. Black teachers should become more active in desegregation efforts so as to convey their attitudes and feelings to all persons who now misunderstand them.

A STUDY OF SELECTED APPREHENSIONS OF TEACHERS TOWARD WORKING IN SCHOOLS PREDOMINANTLY OF THE OPPOSITE RACE (1970)

Houston Conley

This study measured selected apprehensions of black and white teachers in Chattanooga, Tennessee, concerning teaching in schools where their respective races were in the minority according to both student and faculty populations. The study further sought to determine what relationship existed between these apprehensions and certain independent variables. The independent variables were: (1) race; (2) sex; and (3) length of service in education.

The major assumption was that black and white teachers have certain apprehensions concerning teaching in schools in which both the student and faculty populations were predominantly of the opposite race. Thirty-three questions and eleven hypotheses were advanced, each suggesting a relationship between apprehension and one of the above-mentioned independent variables. The test instrument was a questionnaire which was administered to fifteen black male teachers, fifteen black female teachers, fifteen white male teachers, and fifteen white female teachers in schools in which their respective races were in the minority. The selected apprehensions were first tabulated, and then apprehension scores were tested at the .05 level of significance using the chi-square technique to answer questions relative to the subjects' willingness to associate with people of the opposite race in varying kinds of situations.

The findings indicated no significant difference between black and white teachers with regard to intensity of apprehensions about associating with people of the opposite race. In general, the intimate interpersonal relationship of marriage was a major concern of both groups, while other less intimate types of social contact, such as club memberships, church memberships, and friendships, were viewed with lesser concern.

The data also revealed that a significant relationship (at the .05 level of significance in each case) existed between (1) apprehension

and experienced and inexperienced teachers and their willingness to associate with people of the opposite race, (2) apprehension and race in regard to the respondents' choice of characteristics related to the type of person with whom they would most unwillingly associate, (3) apprehension and race in relationship to school-related situations, and (4) apprehension and sex in school-related situations.

In summary, the study revealed generally that the inexperienced teachers were more willing to associate with people of the opposite race than experienced teachers. In school-related situations, it was revealed that black teachers were more apprehensive about working in schools where their race was in the minority than white teachers. In school-related situations, females were less apprehensive than their male counterparts. Finally ,the study revealed that black and white teacher groups differed significantly in their choice of descriptive words in determining their unwillingness to associate with individuals of the opposite race. That is, black respondents reported that they were most unwilling to associate with prejudiced whites, and the white respondents indicated they were most unwilling to associate with racist blacks. This finding seemed to suggest that the two racial groups have a significantly different standard of values regarding undesirable characteristics as they relate to the opposite race. On the other hand, this finding may reflect nothing more than a semantic difference, e.g., a difference in definition of the terms "prejudiced" and "racist."

Recommendations

As a result of this study, the following recommendations are offered:

1. School administrators should consider the attitudes, experience, and sex of prospective teachers when assigning or selecting personnel for desegregated faculties.

2. School administrators should provide appropriate training for teachers prior to their entering desegregated situations in order to relieve their apprehensions. Work on simulated school-related race problems, sensitivity training, and exchange assignments are among the relevant kinds of experiences that might be offered.

3. School administrators should provide in-service training relating specifically to problems of teacher-teacher, teacher-parents, and teacher-administrator relationships.

TEACHERS' REACTIONS TO FACULTY DESEGREGATION (1970)

Morris E. Olds

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to differentiate, on the basis of personal characteristics and on the basis of specific reactions to teaching experiences, among effective and ineffective teachers in desegregated schools. The following questions were posed and answered by the study:

1. Are there any differences in the reactions of black and white teachers to faculty desegregation?

2. Are there any differences in the reactions of black and white teachers to faculty desegregation when they are categorized as follows:

   a. Black teachers of predominantly black students?

   b. Black teachers of predominantly white students?

   c. White teachers of predominantly black students?

   d. White teachers of predominantly white students?

3. Are there any differences in the reactions of regular effective, less effective, and more effective teachers?

4. Are there any differences in the reactions of black and white teachers and less effective and more effective teachers?

5. Are there any differences between selected personal characteristics of teachers and their reactions toward faculty desegregation?

6. Are there any differences in the responses of selected groups of teachers toward the perceptual items pertaining to faculty desegregation?

Procedure

Data concerning the perceptions and commitments of teachers toward faculty desegregation were obtained during the fall of 1969, by means of a questionnaire developed for the study. Respondents represented the total population of elementary school teachers in grades 1-8 of the Shelby County school system, and the 669 usable survey instruments returned were 82 per cent of the total number distributed. Since this study comprised a population, no sampling procedures were designed or used to gather the data. The treatment of data called for descriptive statistical procedures. The findings of the study were shown by tabular and descriptive methods by a comparison of frequency and per cent of responses to items in the questionnaire and by a comparison of group mean scores.

Results

The data indicated that there were differences in the perceptions and commitments of the responding groups. The results also indicated that all groups, although they had encountered negative experiences, reacted positively to faculty desegregation. The race of the teacher was the most discriminating factor in determining positive and negative reactions to faculty desegregation; but teacher effectiveness, race of students and personal characteristics also contributed to considerable differences in responses.

Conclusions

The conclusions drawn from this study were:

1. In general, the population in this study reacted in a distinctly positive manner toward faculty desegregation. While each category of teachers analyzed had encountered some negative experiences, without exception the mean score for each category of teachers was positive toward faculty desegregation.

2 Black teachers were more positive than white teachers in their reactions to faculty desegregation. Black teachers had more positive experiences relating to approval by parents, students and teachers of the opposite race. In addition, they had principals who treated all teachers with equality and were professionally competent. The white teachers had a less positive commitment because of negative experiences during which teachers of the opposite race were seen to be overly sensitive and to misinterpret actions or events as being racial in nature, during which they had occasions to question the competence or academic preparation of some teachers of the opposite race, and during which a lack of organization in their schools had caused frustrations to occur.

3. The black teachers reacted more positively to faculty desegregation than any other category of teachers. Experiences which contributed most to the strong positive reactions of the black teachers were acceptance and approval by the white parents, students, and teachers, and the competence of their principals.

4. The white teachers reacted less positively to faculty desegregation than any other category of teachers. The experiences greatly affecting this group's lower positive commitments to faculty desegregation included poor motivation, low achievement, and discipline problems with the predominantly black students, and frustration because of the lack of organization in schools having predominantly black students.

5. Black and white teachers who taught students predominantly of a race the same as their own did not differ in their total commitments to faculty desegregation. However, a majority of all black and white teachers whose students were predominantly of a race different

from their own were in favor of a rotation system so that every teacher would eventually teach children of a race different from his own. The white teachers of predominantly white students were the only group opposed to a system of teacher rotation Interestingly. black and white teachers whose students were predominantly of a race different from their own did not view their assignments as being as difficult as their counterparts viewed them to be.

6. A majority of all black teacher groups and all white teacher groups who taught predominantly black students perceived that faculty desegregation had resulted in better black teachers having been moved to predominantly white schools On the other hand, a majority of the black teachers perceived the total instructional program to have been improved as a result of faculty desegregation.

7. In contrast to other studies (Heller, Means, and Conley),[1] the present investigation found that male teachers reacted more positively to faculty desegregation than female teachers; teachers between forty-one and fifty years of age reacted most positively to faculty desegregation while teachers between twenty-one and twenty-five reacted least positively when grouped according to age. This finding was surprising since previous research indicated that younger teachers just graduating from colleges were more open-minded and less prejudiced. A possible explanation for this phenomenon was that a more positive view toward faculty desegregation may have been held by the teachers between twenty-one and twenty-five in the earlier stages of faculty desegregation, but that this view became less positive as time passed because of a lack of maturity or because many of the problems experienced by first-year teachers may have been incorrectly viewed as being racial in nature

8. Finally, the principal was the single most important factor contributing to a positive commitment toward faculty desegregation

Suggestions for Further Study

The following needs for further research are suggested by this study:

1. More data concerning the principals of desegregated faculties need to be gathered, since the two most frequently marked items contributing to a positive reaction toward faculty desegregation on the part of the teachers pertained to the competence of the principal and the equality of treatment of all teachers by the principal.

2 More data concerning the kinds of disorganization the white teachers in predominantly black schools have experienced need to be gathered, since this factor was one of the highest contributors to a negative reaction.

3. A follow-up study is recommended in two or three years

[1]See above, pp. 28-34

because of the changing factors which possibly contribute to attitudinal changes.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF TEACHER EFFECTIVENESS TO TEACHER CHARACTERISTICS IN A TEACHER-DESEGREGATED SECONDARY SCHOOL SYSTEM (1971)

Francis E. Ray

The purposes of this study were:

1. To determine the effectiveness of teachers placed in staff-desegregated secondary schools
2. To determine the characteristics of teachers placed in staff-desegregated secondary schools
3. To determine the relationship between the effectiveness and characteristics of teachers in staff-desegregated secondary schools
4. To determine the reaction to faculty desegregation in relationship to selected teacher characteristics.

Data pertaining to teacher performance and characteristics, perceptions, and commitments to faculty desegregation were secured during the Spring, 1971, by means of a questionnaire developed for the study. Four hundred and sixteen usable questionnaires from secondary school teachers in Shelby County, Tennessee, were returned, representing 92.4 per cent of those distributed.

The data were summarized and analyzed by frequency and per cent of response. An analysis by selected variables was conducted, using the chi-square test for signifcant difference.

Teacher performance was evaluated by principals who also assisted in the distribution of the survey instrument. Teachers were classified as low performers (25 per cent of a faculty), high performers (25 per cent), and average performers (50 per cent).

Personal data characteristics (i.e., racial group, sex, age, experience, background, present assignment) and family income were used for investigating responses to the eleven perceptual items and the thirty-two commitment items on the survey instrument. These variables also were the basis for testing for significant difference in commitment and performance groups.

The following conclusions were drawn for analyses of the data:

1. The selected personal characteristics which were the most indicative of teacher performance were age and total teaching experience. Teachers between 30 and 40 years of age were rated more effective performers.
2. White teachers were rated more effective performers than were black teachers by their principals.

3. Majority situation teachers were rated more effective performers than were minority situation teachers.

4. Teachers with rural backgrounds were rated more effective performers than teachers with urban backgrounds.

5. Teachers of academic subjects were rated more effective performers than teachers of non-academic subjects.

6. Teachers with more experience on desegregated faculties were rated more effective than those teachers with less experience on a desegregated faculty.

7. Sex of teacher, family income, and type of institution of higher learning attended did not measurably influence teacher performance.

8. The low performing teachers were more positive in their commitment to faculty desegregation than other performance groups.

9. The racial group of the teacher influenced commitment to faculty desegregation much more than did the predominant racial group of students taught.

10. The teacher with four to nine years total experience was the least positively committed to faculty desegregation among the various experience groups.

1. Black teachers were more positive in commitment to faculty desegregation than were white teachers.

12. Both white and black teachers perceived that the black teacher transferred to the previously all-white school was a more qualified teacher than his white counterpart.

13. Teachers of both racial groups held serious doubts that complete integration would occur.

14. Classroom order and being over-sensitive and ill-at-ease were the most serious problems of the minority situation teacher, as indicated by the feelings of other teachers.

15. The principal, firstly, and the students, secondly, were the most important factors contributing to positive commitment to faculty desegregation.

16. The overall teacher population had a distinctly positive reaction to faculty desegregation.

17. Faculty desegregation appeared to provide the type of experiences essential to the individual's understanding of and respect for the opposite racial group.

18. Teachers over fifty lears of age were positive in their commitment to faculty desegregation, yet were not, for the most part, high performers.

19. As the age of teachers increased, the commitment to faculty desegregation became more positive.

20. A majority of black teachers indicated that the rate of faculty desegregation should be increased nationwide.

21. Black teachers did not think the instructional program of the schools had been impaired as a result of faculty desegregation.

In summary, the most effective teacher in a desegregated situation was described as white, between 30 and 40 years of age, with a rural background, teaching an academic subject in a school where the student racial composition was predominantly white, and who had one or more years of experience in a desegregated situation. The least effective teacher was also described as white or black with four to nine years of teaching experience, teaching in a school where most of the students were of the opposite race. Black teachers over fifty years of age with at least nine years of teaching experience had the most positive commitment to faculty desegregation.

Although all groups in the sample indicated some negative experiences, an overall positive reaction to faculty desegregation existed, with black teachers and low performers showing more positive commitment than any other group.

Age and total teaching experience were important variables indicating differences in performance and commitment.

The principal was the most important factor contributing to a positive commitment toward faculty desegregation. The minority teacher's lack of classroom order was the most important factor contributing to a negative commitment.

FACULTY DESEGREGATION METHODS AT A SELECT GROUP OF SCHOOLS IN THE MEMPHIS CITY SCHOOLS (1972)

George W. Cox

The primary purpose of this study was to identify the methods for achieving and problems related to the desegregation of professional staffs in a select group of schools in the city of Memphis, Tennessee. This study was restricted to a select number of teachers in two large secondary schools in Memphis and their respective feeder schools.

A thorough exploration of existing literature and utilization of the resources of the Division of Race Relations, Memphis City Schools, provided background for the study of desegregated staffs.

A questionnaire was designed and utilized to collect the data needed to ascertain, to some extent, the perceptional effectiveness of staff desegregation efforts in the two large attendance areas in the northern section of the city of Memphis. The questionnaire consisted of a checklist composed of seventy-seven positive and negative attitudinal specimens arranged randomly. In addition to the

specimen checklist, it also contained a brief personal data section relative to race, sex, and work experience.

From tabulation of the returns (approximately 80 per cent of the total population surveyed), the data were reported and discussed in dimensions of attitudes and perceptions relating to faculty desegregation. To facilitate compilation and computations necessary to the analysis and discussion of such data volume, a computer program was designed to accomplish the statistical treatment of data.

In the statistical analyses of data, numerical distributions, +/− ratio scores, and percentages were determined, individually and by categories. Standard deviations were computed for the total population and by categories. Item analyses of the specimens were provided by testing for significant chi-squares. Chi-square tests were made of demographic data. Correlation coefficients were computed for every appropriate purpose.

The coefficient of reliability of the checklist was computed at .738. Verification of this level was obtained in the disclosure that negative specimens had been marked at a ratio of 1.06 to positive specimens. The standard deviation for +/− ratio scores was established as 8.35.

The population was subdivided into eight groups, and homogeneity of the population was shown by analysis of responses to demographic questions. The groups were Male Black Tenured, Male Black Non-Tenured, Male White Tenured, Male White Non-Tenured, Female Black Tenured, Female Black Non-Tenured, Female White Tenured and Female White Non-Tenured.

Findings and Conclusions

The findings of this study were the following:

1. There was a significant difference in the perceptions of black and white staff members concerning the effectiveness of methods used to achieve faculty desegregation in the schools included in this study.
2. There was a significant difference in the perceptions of selected black and white staff members concerning problems involved in staff desegregation and how those problems affected the desegregation process.
3. There was a significant difference in the perceptions of selected black and white staff members concerning interracial attitudes involved in staff desegregation and how those attitudes affected the desegregation process.
4. There was a significant difference in the perceived behavior of selected black and white staff members toward each other during the process of staff desegregation.
5. There was a significant difference in the perceived behavior

of selected black and white staff members toward their school board, superintendent, and central office staff during the process of staff desegregation.

6. There was a significant difference in the perceived behavior of selected black and white staff members toward their students during the process of staff desegregation.
7. There was significant difference in the perceived behavior of selected black and white staff members toward the community during the process of staff desegregation.

The roles of the principal, the central office staff, the board of education, and the community were important in influencing the interracial attitudes of teachers regarding the process of staff desegregation. The data obtained from this study provided knowledge important to administrative decision-making relative to staff desegregation.

Implications and Recommendations

In essence, Cox's implications and recommendations parallel those offered earlier by Gunter. (p. 20). In addition, according to the suggestions made by the respondents who have experienced some staff desegregation, the following implications were relevant for the Memphis City Schools and other communities facing this situation:

1. Blacks must be in actual decision-making roles so as to have a direct line to and from black teachers, students and the community which increasingly constitutes a large segment of the urban school constituency.
2. A well-planned program of desegregation should include faculty desegregation. The desegregation of teachers provides biracial experiences for all students. The positive benefits students would derive from teacher desegregation would more than compensate for the extra planning necessary to accomplish that part of a desegregation program.
3. Future research efforts in the area of staff desegregation are needed to assess methods and approaches that seem most successful.

Faculty desegregation, as well as the larger process — school integration — is a very complex and difficult task. To suggest otherwise would be something less than truthful. The researcher strongly feels and this study suggests, however, that it can be achieved by persons with courage, commitment, and skill who have the political and professional support of major institutions inside and outside the school system. The resources and target groups, representing persons and/or institutions the educational leader must work with in the desegregation process, include: the community at large, municipal

and state officials, the Board of Education, the top educator's administrative staff, principals, teachers, service personnel, parents and students. Only with sound educational and political planning can one expect substantial support from these very vital forces. An effective desegregation plan must take these forces into account and outline how they may best be utilized in the process of change.

RACIAL PERCEPTIONS OF METROPOLITAN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION (1970)

Sammie Lucas

The purpose of this study was to explore the perceptions of differentiated black and white groups relative to metropolitan school desegregation. Null hypotheses postulated that there were no differences between respondent groups in their perceptions of school desegregation as expressed by responses to single items representing desegregation activities.

Perceptions were obtained from two hundred and sixty-five respondents by a questionnaire developed for this study. Respondents representing both black and white teachers, parents and students from the target school district were included in the sample. Race was the only variable used in the analysis of group responses according to predetermined categories. The chi-square test was the statistical technique used in testing hypotheses for significant differences. The .05 level of significance was chosen for use in this study.

The findings of the study indicated significant differences in response frequencies between respondent racial groups' perceptions of effective practices and acceptable approaches relative to school desegregation.

The data supported the rejection of each hypothesis but revealed several possible areas of agreement between racial groups. Agreement was inferred from an analysis of group response directions. Of the twenty-one items designed to test the effectiveness of school desegregation practices, the dichotomized responses of both racial groups were in the same direction on twelve items. The same patern emerged regarding acceptable approaches to school desegregation. Responses to seven of the eleven items were in the same direction. Indications were that white respondents were more similar in their perceptions of school desegregation practices and approaches than were black respondents.

Black respondents perceived a need for blacks to be involved in regulatory and managerial activities of the school district, while white respondents perceived no need for this type involvement.

The perceptions of black parents tended to support actions they believed would increase school desegregation and reject situations that implied that school desegregation was not beneficial to the educational process of all children. White parents did not perceive many of the same items in the way black parents perceived them.

Teacher groups differed in perceptions of administrative behavior in desegregated schools. Black teachers believed that there were greater administrative restrictions placed on them than were placed on white teachers in the performance of their professional duties.

Both student groups perceived an increase in discipline problems, and no difference in the assignment policies of black and white teachers nor restrictions in the performance of their professional duties.

In summary, the findings of this study revealed both positive and negative perceptions of school desegregation practices and approaches in the sampled school system. Blacks clearly wanted more, faster, and more effective school desegregation (as judged by blacks) than whites wanted. Differences in perceptions between blacks and whites indicated a distinct need for dialogue between racial groups regarding school desegregation activities. The low level of trust and negative attitudes of racial groups toward members of the opposite racial groups suggested that conflict would continue in the desegregation process. It was encouraging, however, that blacks and whites alike recognized a need for black inclusion on high level decision-making boards and positions and that quality education was their prime concern regardless of racial identity. Additionally, the findings suggested that blacks were optimistic and hopeful. Their attitudes toward whites showed moderation, and they tended to seek nonviolent change in the process of school desegregation.

The challenge, it seems, is the selection of courses of action (wherein some agreement can be reached between racial groups) that will be fast and effective enough to keep the discontent of blacks below the boiling point, but not so fast and disruptive as to tip whites toward further racial bias than now exists.

The high percentage of undecided responses of both racial groups suggests that many respondents of the target school system were not fully aware of the conditions surrounding the desegregation of a school district nor the purposes to be accomplished in the process. A high level community educational program appears mandatory before meaningful progress can be expected in school desegregation in this system.

SECTION III:
STUDIES CONCERNING SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENTS

INTRODUCTION

The role played by superintendents in the desegregation of public schools was the phenomenon investigated in the three studies included in this section. Two of the investigations were companion studies which attempted to show a relationship between the behavior of superintendents and the desegregation of public schools. Of these, one sought to identify and describe the behavioral patterns of selected school superintendents, and the other attempted to relate these behavioral patterns to the desegregation process. The third study centered on the characteristics of superintendents as they relate to the degree of desegregation in their respective school systems.

The following are some basic findings drawn from the studies: (1) To a large extent, ten major factors affected superintendents' behavior, and the actions of the superintendents were found to fall within one of four general behavioral patterns relating to the typical roles superintendents play in the desegregation process. (2) The most effective superintendents were those who furnished initial leadership and made careful preparation for public school desegregation. (3) There was evidence to show that a significant relationship existed between the superintendent's behavior and the percentage of black students in the school system and the superintendent's behavior and his tenure in the school system.

BEHAVIORAL PATTERNS OF SELECTED SUPERINTENDENTS DURING THE PROCESS OF PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION (1959)

Sam H. Ingram

The problem of this study was to identify and describe behavioral patterns of selected public school superintendents during the process of public school desegregation. The sub-problems were (1) to identify and describe the behavior of the selected superintendents toward their administrative staffs, their boards, their teachers, and the public, and (2) to identify and describe the general behavioral patterns of the selected superintendents during public school desegregation.

The study was limited to ten public school superintendents in Kentucky systems where some form of public school desegregation had been accomplished. These ten superintendents and the Kentucky State Department of Education had indicated a willingness to cooperate in the study.

Data for the study were collected through personal interviews with the superintendents, other school personnel, and lay citizens in each of the ten systems. An interview guide was used in all interviews to insure that specific kinds of information were obtained, which were believed essential to the study.

An analysis of the data revealed that there were many factors which affected the behavior of the superintendents during public school desegregation. Some of the factors which seemed to affect the superintendent's behavior were:

1. *Tradition.* Tradition seemed to be one of the factors which had some effect upon the actions of the superintendents during desegregation. Most of the superintendents were anxious that the change from segregated to desegregated schools in their system not be too rapid. This was true even of most superintendents who initiated action to desegregate the schools in their systems. The methods they used indicated that they believed that both the white and black citizens in the community should get used to the idea of mixing the races in the classrooms before schools opened on a desegregated basis.

2. *Legal Structure.* Another force which directly affected the action of superintendents in Kentucky during desegregation was the school laws under which they operated. These laws may have been the result of action of the local school board, state board of education or the state legislature. These rules and regulations exercised some control over the action of the superintendents.

The legal framework within which the local superintendents

operated also meant that there was a relationship between the action which the superintendent took during desegregation and the attitude of their respective local school boards toward the Supreme Court ruling and the issue of desegregation. If the local school board did not wish to begin desegregation in their system, this did not mean that the superintendent always changed his own objectives in the matter. It did mean, however, that the superintendent usually changed or modified his approach in reaching his objectives. The length of time a superintendent had been in the system sometimes reflected his success or lack of success in reaching his objectives during the period of desegregation.

3. *Positive Reactions of State Officials.* The information obtained during this study indicated that most of the important state officals of Kentucky had anticipated the Supreme Court decision and were ready with a positive statement saying that their state would comply with the decision. These officials included the governor, the attorney general, and congressional representatives and senators.

4. *Human Relations Agencies.* Human relations agencies operating in Kentucky during the period of school desegregation were ready to act as pressure groups in systems which did not seem inclined to act in good faith. They were also ready to give guidance and direction as well as assistance in systems which asked the agencies for help in solving local problems.

5. *State Department of Education.* The positive attitude of the Kentucky State Department of Education was an important force which affected the action of the superintendents during public school desegregation. Some superintendents called upon members of the State Department of Education to serve as consultants in their systems during desegregation. Some of them said that their action was based in part upon procedures suggested by these consultants.

6. *Black Population.* The decrease in the black population as well as the small number of Negro students in some of the local systems was considered significant in affecting the behavior of superintendents during public school desegregation. Where black students made up only 2 or 3 per cent of the total student body in a school system, the action of the superintendent appeared to be influenced by this factor.

7. *Superintendent's Position.* The security or lack of security felt by the superintendent in his position also seemed to affect his action during public school desegregation. An insecure superintendent had to be more concerned with the opinion of the school board and public than was sometimes necessary in order to facilitate desegregation. He was sometimes less able to receive approval for policies

which he believed were needed in an effective change from segregated to desegregated schools.

8. *Skills of Superintendents.* Although this factor was not mentioned specifically by any of the people interviewed, it became apparent during the study that certain actions by some of the superintendents were at least partly the result of the skills they possessed. During a crisis situation, it appeared that each superintendent preferred to use methods and actions with which he was most familiar and felt most at ease. This has certain implications in any attempt to evaluate the behavior of any superintendent during the process of desegregation. The differing patterns of action followed by various superintendents may be considered successful and yet be quite different.

9. *Status of Black Education.* The conditions of the physical facilities and instructional program in black schools at the time of the Supreme Court's *Brown* decision affected the action of some of the superintendents. Where the facilities and instructional program in black schools were comparable to those in the white schools, there appeared to be less pressure from the black citizens to desegregate the schools. Where the facilities and instructional program for blacks were inferior to those in white schools, black parents seemed more anxious that desegregation begin immediately. In addition, local citizen groups and sometimes superintendents were more willing to press for action in systems where it was obvious that blacks were being discriminated against with regard to the educational opportunities being afforded their children.

10. *Pressure.* The amount of pressure placed upon each superintendent on the local level by individuals, groups, and organizations during the transition period was also instrumental in determining the behavior of the superintendents. *In many cases these pressures were at least partly responsible for the methods used by the various superintendents in effecting educational change within their respective systems.* One of the reasons given as to why some of the superintendents moved more slowly than others in desegregating their schools was that some encountered more intense opposition and pressure at the local level than their counterparts.

The action of each of the ten superintendents was found to have followed one of four general behavioral patterns. These four patterns of behavior were:

1. Furnishing initial leadership and making careful preparation for public school desegregation.

2. Initiating action without careful planning for desegregation.

3. Waiting for the community or other outside agencies to initiate action and then providing formal leadership in preparing for desegregation.

4. Waiting for the community or other agencies to initiate action and then making little formal preparation for desegregation.

Recommendations

The general conclusions of this study suggest that a great deal more attention should be given to the effect that actions of public school superintendents have upon the success or lack of success of desegregation. It is also believed that more research should be directed toward the factors which seem to have a definite effect upon the superintendent's action during the process of school desegregation. Perhaps more intensive research in a single school system, where this is possible, would shed additional light upon the action of the superintendent and its causes. The behavioral patterns which emerged from action taken by all ten superintendents were evaluated to some extent in a companion study (i.e., Blanton). However, it seems probable that a series of studies which involved many people in each system would make the patterns of action more understandable. This would appear especially true if these patterns were the result of intensive reasearch in each system as suggested.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF BEHAVIORAL PATTERNS OF SELECTED SUPERINTENDENTS TO THE PROCESS OF PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION (1959)

Harry S. Blanton

The objective of this study was to determine the results or effects on desegregation of behavioral patterns of school superintendents which developed when selected school systems became racially desegregated. Secondary objectives were (1) to list and describe the forces that shaped the behavioral patterns of superintendents, (2) to relate the impact of forces to actions taken by the superintendents during desegregation, and (3) to determine the kinds of effects varying behavioral patterns had on the desegregation process.

The study was limited to ten public school superintendencies in Kentucky systems where some form of public school desegregation had been accomplished. The superintendents of the systems and the Kentucky State Department of Education cooperated in the study.

Data for the study were collected through personal interviews with the superintendents, other school personnel, and lay citizens in each of the ten systems. The official school board minutes pertaining to public school desegregation and other written material coming from the superintendent's office were examined when the board

and/or superintendent were believed to have taken an active part in desegregation.

Analysis of the data revealed that the influence behavioral patterns of superintendents had on desegregation was as varied as the behavioral patterns and that, in general, the behavioral pattern of the superintendent exerted less influence than other combined forces. Further, the behavioral pattern of the superintendent was itself affected by these forces.

The behavioral patterns of superintendents who took initial action and made careful preparations for desegregation were influential in establishing a calm, intelligent, and cooperative approach with regard to desegregation in the public schools of Kentucky.

The behavioral patterns of superintendents who initiated action without careful planning for desegregation tended to create confusion and passive opposition within the community. The failure to involve citizens in planning and to release formal plans from the superintendent's office gave incentive to doubt the sincerity of motives and direction of the program.

Superintendents who neither initiated action nor made formal preparation for desegregation were unable to provide necessary leadership to assure an effective program of desegregation.

AN EXPLORATORY STUDY TO IDENTIFY CHARACTERISTICS OF A SOCIAL INNOVATOR (1969)

John F. Yeager

Introduction and Purpose

This investigation was concerned with an examination of selected aspects of the desegregation process in the State of Tennessee. The focal point of the study was an exploration of the potency of the relationship between degree of desegregation in selected school systems and the percentages of black students in those systems, coupled with the characteristics of superintendents.

The primary function of the study was to identify relationships and a set of factors which would be predictive of the degree of desegregation in a school district. It was envisioned that the investigation would produce findings from which hypotheses could be generated for additional research on desegregation adaptability. Since no research was found focusing on the superintendent's role as it relates to social change, it was felt that a start in this direction was imperative in light of vast present and future societal changes which the schools must face and toward which they must direct their

attention. In addition, it was hoped that from the findings of this study, practitioners responsible for school desegregation and those responsible for educational administration preparation programs might gain new insights into the desegregation process.

A secondary function of the study was to obtain from superintendents additional data related to desegregation and present these data in a frequency distribution which somewhat showed their relationships to the degree of desegregation. A third function was to collect demographic data to provide the desegregation background, unrelated to the study's hypotheses but related to the student desegregation phenomenon in the State of Tennessee.

Procedure

The primary information gathering instrument of the study was a questionnaire developed by the researcher for obtaining personal characteristics of the superintendents. Included in the questionnaire was a series of questions designed to determine the superintendents' viewpoints relative to desegregation. The questionnaire was examined by research and desegregation experts and judged to have face validity. The series of questions bearing on desegregation were subjected to a reliability test and the coefficient of correlation was .88 (P .001).

The population of the study included 119 of the total 150 school superintendents in Tennessee and their respective school districts. The 31 superintendents and school districts omitted from the study had 1 or less per cent black student populations. The subjects were treated in two subgroups to examine differences between low and high black student percentage school districts, using the 106 usable superintendent questionnaires completed and returned.

Degrees of desegregation for each school district were computed from official United States Health, Education, and Welfare forms submitted to the Tennessee State Department of Education by the superintendents for the school year 1968-69. The range in degree of desegregation was from 4 to 100 per cent.

The multiple correlation statistical technique was employed through the facilities of the University of Tennessee Computing Center. Data were independently treated in the two subgroups, utilizing a multiple correlation which determined the most significant pairwise correlation to the degree of desegregation; and then a linear combination of variables using the stepwise regression equation improved the measure of relationship concerning the degree of desegregation and increased the predictability of the coefficient of determination. The .01 level of significance was considered the rejection point in the study.

Conclusions

The following conclusions related to the school districts with higher black percentages were drawn from the study's findings:

1. Confirming findings of previous research as reported in this study, the degree of desegregation in this study was inversely related to the percentage of black students in the public schools (which was, in turn, related to the black percentage of total population). When the percentage of blacks in the population was low, then the presence of blacks and the process of desegregation have not generally been interpreted as threats to the white community and the white power structure. Thus, it was concluded that this community variable remained as the best single predictor of school district desegregation.

2. The findings also revealed that the legally constituted educational leader—the superintendent—was the most influential change agent in the school district with reference to desegregation. The strong relationship between the superintendent's characteristics and degree of desegregation was evidence of this fact. When superintendent characteristics were considered jointly with the potent percentage of black student population variable, the coefficient of determination accounted for most of the variability within the degree of desegregation. This joining together of the variables considerably increased the predictability of the degree of desegregation. It should be noted that previous research along this line had dealt with educational program change while this study was believed to have been the first dealing with social change represented by desegregation.

3. Findings of this study were somewhat inconsistent with findings of previous investigations regarding the relationship between adaptability and specific characteristics of leaders. It should be recognized that the findings of previous research were not generated from research dealing with social change as represented by desegregation. Also, it should be pointed out that findings of the present study related to specific characteristics were not conclusive because of the general lack of significance in correlations with degree of desegregation. It can be said, however, that an overall tendency was noted for the longer tenured, less traveled, and less professional superintendent to administer school districts with greater desegregation. This surprising tendency suggested that the more cosmopolitan superintendent was not the leader of organizations practicing greater social change represented by desegregation. The cosmopolitan superintendent, in most studies involving educational program change, has usually been associated with organizations considered innovative.

Considering the paucity of educational research in this area, providing an explanation for the possible social change phenomenon can hardly be more than conjecture. With this limitation in mind, the

following explanations are offered to aid in understanding better this possible desegregation phenomenon. One possible explanation is that the more provincial superintendent may be more effective than the cosmopolitan superintendent in developing a local base of influence which allows him to operate successfully in promoting desegregation. The community populace might find it easier to identify with the longer tenured, less traveled, and less professional superintendent, thus increasing their confidence and providing him with the necessary power required for the desegregation process. This corresponds with an anthropological view that societal position plays an important role for innovators of cultural change.

A second alternative is that the cosmopolitan superintendent may be more aware of the negative ramifications associated with desegregation. In light of mass media presentations of "sensational news" (particularly newspaper reports which usually feature negative happenings), it would not be surprising if the cosmopolitan superintendent were affected by these reports and therefore reluctant to institute additional desegregation strategies within his school district because of fear of negative ramifications.

Another possibility is that the cosmopolitan superintendent may be more in tune with modern attitudes, thus reflecting the polarized views of some blacks and whites who maintain that desegregation is not really possible or practical and who stress quality education in lieu of desegregated education. The more provincial superintendent, on the other hand, may still be reflecting past attitudes, particularly of blacks and thus viewing desegregation as the panacea of our time. It is also conceivable that social change and educational programs are unrelated. Since it is obvious that education cannot alone solve social problems, it is possible that cosmopolitan superintendents may have given up, or are waiting and hoping for a more global strategy to attack the problem of school desegregation.

All these possibilities could be interrelated. The cosmopolitan superintendent is generally a more mobile individual, hence his action strategies vis-a-vis desegregation might be a reflection of his ambition. Since desegregation has been associated with negative happenings, he might envision desegregation as a negative factor possibly limiting this ambition. Thus, he might take an alternative route rather than face the issue and conflict situation.

In summary, it was found that the subgroup with the lower percentage of black students was skewed. Superintendents' questionnaires from 68 of the 73 school districts studied, reported a degree of desegregation of 100 per cent. This lack of variance in the degree of desegregation pointed to the potency of the community variable, percentage of black student population.

The subgroup with the higher percentage of black students

revealed: (1) The community variable, percentage of black student population, was significantly correlated to the criterion variable, degree of desegregation. (2) Eighteen personal characteristics of the subject superintendents increased the measure of relationship and increased the predictability of the degree of desegregation. (3) There was an overall tendency for the longer tenured, less traveled, and less professional superintendents to administer school districts with greater desegregation.

Recommendations

Several implications arise from the findings of previous educational research, lack of desegregation research, and the conclusions drawn from the present study. The major objective of this research was to explore superintendent characteristics as they related to the desegregation of public schools. Only the surface has been scratched and the door to greater knowledge slightly opened. More precise and sophisticated research is needed. The following recommendations are presented to social change researchers in the field of education.

1. In this investigation, 15 per cent of the degree of desegregation was unaccounted for by the variables included. Additional social adaptability research is needed to explore this unknown dimension. The social climate of the community or the personal characteristics of local school board members might be fertile starting points for such research.

2. If a study population large enough for social adaptability research can be obtained, other dimensions should be examined, with procedures similar to those utilized in this study but with many different focus points. Subgroupings might be arranged on the basis of elected and appointed superintendents, large and small school districts, urban and rural school districts, innovative educational program districts and traditional program districts, and so on.

3. Social adaptability researchers should take a closer look at the role of the top administrative officer, the superintendent, and how his role is perceived by the community in regard to social change. Information gained from investigations of this type might lead to better understanding of the superintendent's relationship to desegregation.

SECTION IV: STUDIES DEALING WITH VITAL RACIAL ISSUES AND RACIAL ATTITUDES OF COLLEGE STUDENTS

INTRODUCTION

The most important issues facing blacks in Tennessee and attitudes of college students were the subjects of research interest of the four studies included in this section. Two of the studies sought to identify the attitudes of black students in predominantly black and predominantly white colleges and universities. One study compared the associative structures of black and white college students on words judged to have significance for issues of racial controversy. Another study attempted to identify black leaders and issues vital to blacks in the State of Tennessee.

In general, the most important findings of these studies were the following. (1) Black college students were ambivalent in their attitudes toward the recruitment of white students and white professors (i.e., they seemed to feel that black institutions should actively recruit more white students but not white professors). (2) Only minimal social integration existed in the predominantly white institutions investigated. (3) Interracial communication is not likely to occur when the two racial groups use words that reflect areas of racial controversy (i.e., black and white students attributed different meanings to the same words). (4) Issues ranked as vital to blacks in Tennessee a decade ago may have some relevance for blacks today.

AN ANALYSIS OF SELECTED ATTITUDES OF SENIORS IN PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES (1969)

Herbert C. Alexander

The purpose of this study was to analyze selected attitudes of seniors in predominantly black colleges and universities in the southeastern United States. The study compared selected data that were characteristic of seniors in the 1968-1969 population The study also attempted to assess the importance of some of the critical forces that confronted seniors matriculating at the selected institutions.

Data were gathered from an attitudinal inventory administered by the reasearcher to 400 seniors in sixteen selected institutions located in the southeastern United States.

Each item of categorical data was grouped and frequency distributions were developed. Data relative to the characteristics of the sample were tested for significance by using the chi-square technique. The method of successive categories was used to determine the configuration symbol of the students' attitudes toward the institution as measured by the 10-item checklist in the inventory. The method of rank order was used to analyze data concerning prominent Americans. The semantic differential was used to collect data concerning the selected concepts.

Of the 400 seniors in the black institutions, 54 per cent were females and 46 per cent were males. Sixty-three per cent of the sample had initially enrolled in their respective institutions in 1964. Eighty four per cent of the seniors expected to graduate in 1968. Ninety per cent were single, and 84 per cent were Southern born. The seniors expressed high vocational aspirations with regard to their career choices.

The 400 seniors indicated that financial obligations were the most difficult barriers they had to overcome during their matriculation. Adjusting to the social environment and academic requirements were ranked second and third respectively in terms of difficulty. Twenty four per cent were receiving full support from their parents.

The overall frequency distribution indicated that the 400 seniors related positively to their institutions. Ninety per cent of the seniors felt that their matriculation had been stimulating. Sixty-four per cent of the seniors felt that their institution had satisfactorily met the needs of its students. Seventy-seven per cent of the seniors felt that their institution was capable of meeting the needs of its students in the future. Fifty-nine per cent of the seniors felt that their institutions were noted for high academic standards. Fifty-three per cent of the

seniors felt that the entrance requirements of the black institutions should be raised, and 13 per cent were undecided.

The seniors also felt that most of the black institutions should remain open and that black institutions should actively recruit white students but should not have more white professors. Sixty-nine per cent of the seniors said they would be willing to send their children to a black institution, and 13 per cent were undecided. Eighty-one per cent of the seniors stated that they would financially support black institutions during the next decade; 14 per cent were undecided.

In connection with the students' projection of feelings about ten prominent black Americans, an interesting pattern evolved. The seniors ranked Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Thurgood Marshall, and Whitney Young as first, second, and third respectively. Ralph Bunche was ranked fourth, Carl Stokes fifth, the college president sixth, Adam C. Powell seventh, and Willie Mays eighth.

Analysis of the data contained in this study suggested the following conclusions:

1. Black students in black institutions in the southeastern United States were developing strong positive attitudes toward black institutions and black awareness.

2. Black students in black institutions in the southeastern United States may be exhibiting patterns of ambivalence in their actions and feelings, e.g., by advocating recruitment of white students while limiting employment of white professors, by expressing a desire to maintain black educational institutions in an integrated society, and by ranking black miltants low and rating Black Power high.

3. The typical senior in the black institution was likely to be single, between 20 and 23 years of age, and Southern born. He was also likely to come from a low-income family background, to have high aspirations for future employment, to be aware of his blackness, to be willing to support black institutions, and to go along with the existing school system.

THE NEGRO UNDERGRADUATE STUDENT: FACTORS RELATIVE TO PERFORMANCE IN PREDOMINANTLY WHITE STATE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES IN TENNESSEE (1966)

Nolen E. Bradley, Jr.

The purpose of this study was to investigate selected characteristics, academic performance, and personal problems and successes

of black undergraduate students who enrolled in the seven formerly all-white state colleges and universities in Tennessee between the fall of 1963 and the spring of 1965.

Data were gathered from the complete high school and college records of these black undergraduates, from interviews with the deans of student affairs at the seven state institutions, and from two questionnaires — one mailed to selected regularly enrolled black undergraduate students, and one mailed to faculty members identified by the black students returning the first questionnaire.

Each item of categorical data was grouped (and tabulated where possible), and frequency distributions were developed. In analyzing data relative to personal and academic problems and successes, particularly data gleaned from the interviews and questionnaires, use was made of actual quotations of respondents in order to convey meaning more clearly. The multiple regression analysis was used to determine the relationship between the students' success in college, as measured by the dependent variable (overall college grade point average), and certain significant selected independent variables.

Summary and Findings

Although no black undergraduates had entered any one of the seven formerly all-white state colleges and universities in Tennessee before the 1954 *Brown* case, the institutions were all successfully desegregated by 1963. No blacks had lived in student dormitories before 1963, but six of the seven institutions had admitted blacks into dormitories by 1965. As reported by the deans of student affairs, the black undergraduates have posed no real discipline problem at the colleges and universities they entered; most infractions were infrequent and minor. Three of the seven state institutions had black athletes on their intercollegiate squads.

No blacks have been admitted to the all-white social sororities and fraternities, but at one university, there was one all-black sorority. Blacks were allowed to attend all social functions, and they were officially free to participate in the activities of the clubs and organizations in the various colleges and universities. In many cases blacks participated to only a very limited degree.

No special institutional services have been extended to the black undergraduates alone. Acknowledging the black student's general lack of background, academically and culturally, the deans of student affairs felt that the blacks had done very well.

Most of the students (93.4 per cent) registered in the schools of liberal arts, education, or business administration; very few registered in the schools of agriculture, engineering, home economics,

or industrial technology. The seven state institutions followed different admissions testing policies, but American College Test (ACT) scores were available for 47.2 per cent of the regularly enrolled black undergraduate students. The mean scores on each of the five parts of the ACT for these undergraduates fell below the fiftieth percentile for national twelfth grade students and below the twentieth percentile for national college-bound students.

On one measure of student retention in college, 48.4 per cent of the 583 blacks included in the study were found to be making satisfactory progress toward a baccalaureate degree. On another measure of student retention in college, 50.1 per cent were doing satisfactory work. None of the 583 students graduated during the period under study. Of those students who left college, academic difficulties, financial difficulties, and personal reasons were the most common causes; a few left because of change in job status.

Reactions to experiences at the interracial college. Black students considered the interracial college experience a valuable one. However, many felt they could have received as good an education in a predominantly black college, and many more felt that they just could not decide, since they had no basis for comparison. They felt they were accepted by the predominantly white student body. They were definitely ambivalent on the question of being on the alert most of the time because they were black — almost a fifty-fifty split.

When the blacks were asked to state the one main reason they had decided to attend an interracial college, most of them (78.2 per cent) gave three main reasons: (1) more economical or cheaper financially; (2) more and better educational opportunities, staff, and facilities than at a black college; and (3) more convenient or closer to home.

When black undergraduate students were asked to give the single most satisfactory aspect of their interracial college experience, most of them (69.1 per cent) gave four main answers: (1) meeting, mixing, understanding, accepting, and learninng about different races; (2) being accepted as a person by helpful instructors and/or friendly students; (3) meeting the challenge of competition or coping with whites; and (4) gaining knowledge, learning, and receiving a good education.

When these black undergraduates were asked to mention the factor which caused them the greatest difficulty in the interracial college, most of them (63.3 per cent) gave four main difficulties; (1) adjusting to the difficult, higher academic requirements and fast-progressing classes; (2) adjusting to the new, impersonal, interracial college environment; (3) having a weak academic background or poor study habits; and (4) adjusting to the prejudice of the teachers or students. Other difficulties included being alert, as a black, or

trying to overcome one's own personal prejudice; feeling alone, stared at, or overlooked in the classroom; and personal problems not related to college.

In the matter of college financing, it was found that 80.9 per cent of the blacks responding to the student questionnaire received at least part of their college costs from their families; and 54.1 per cent financed their own education. Only 25.7 per cent of the black respondents listed an organization as a source of loans and scholarships.

Reactions of faculty members. Faculty members at the seven state institutions were asked if the black undergraduate students generally had the academic competence to do the work required. They were also asked to list any basic academic deficiencies they could identify. The majority (51.9 per cent) felt that blacks *did not* have the academic competence to do the work required of them, while a minority (39.7 per cent) felt they did. Deficiencies in academic areas were duly noted by the college professors, and most mentioned deficiencies in language arts, primarily in communication

Conclusions of the study. Analysis of the data obtained in this study produced the following conclusions:

1. Integration was progressing at a variable but slower pace; integration in normal academic associations was accepted; integration in extra-curricular activities was beginning to be evident; and only minimal social integration existed.

2. Blacks who attend state institutions in Tennessee do so because they have no real choice; the state schools are cheaper financially; they offer more and better educational opportunities; and they are more convenient and closer to home.

3. The seven state institutions do not, generally, provide enough remedial noncredit course work to help the blacks overcome their deficiencies in the language arts, especially communication.

4 American College Test (ACT) scores in English and mathematics can not be used as a basis for predicting the academic success of the black students in the same way they are used to predict college success for more privileged white students.

5. Most blacks will continue to experience academic difficulties in interracial colleges until they have an opportunity to experience interracial education at the elementary school and secondary school level.

6. More middle class blacks, if attracted to the state institutions, would help the lower class blacks gain a sense of identification; too, a few excellent black faculty members would help blacks better identify with the interracial situation.

Directions for further research. Two directions for further research were suggested by the investigation. The findings indicated

that (1) a study should be made to define and discover other intellective or nonintellective variables which could predict the success of Negro students at interracial colleges, and (2) a follow-up study should be conducted in Tennessee a decade hence to see what progress had been made a score of years after the first advent of desegregation.

THE ASSOCIATIVE STRUCTURES OF TWO RACIAL GROUPS ON ISSUES OF RACIAL CONTROVERSY (1968)

John W. Edgerly

The study was designed to compare the associative structures of two racial groups, blacks and whites, on words judged as having significance for issues of racial controversy.

The two racial groups involved were black and white college students enrolled in teacher education programs at Knoxville College, a predominantly black college, and the University of Tennessee. Both institutions are located in Knoxville, Tennessee.

Education classes were randomly chosen from both institutions, and the students in these classes were asked to write a brief paragraph on what they felt were the important issues of racial controversy. Four white judges then selected words which best described the affective content of each paragraph. Words upon which all four judges agreed were used as stimulus words for an association test. This procedure resulted in a stimulus word test of 105 words.

Eighty-four students from each of the two institutions were randomly selected to provide single word associations to each of the 105 stimulus words. A counter-balanced control technique for administrator effects was employed by having a black and a white administrator administer the association test at both institutions.

Associative structures were ascertained according to a method similar to one employed by Deese (1965). Single word associations were obtained to 105 stimulus words, and a frequency distribution was constructed for responses to each stimulus word per racial group. Raw overlap of responses between the two racial groups for each stimulus word was calculated, and the upper and lower 20 per cent of the overlap distribution was found. This procedure yielded a set of 25 stimulus words for the lower 20 per cent of overlap and a set of 26 stimulus words for the upper 20 per cent of overlap. The amount of overlap was considered equivalent to the degree of agreement between the two racial groups as to the associative meaning of a given stimulus word.

Intersection Coefficients were then computed for the two racial groups on the lower and upper 20 per cent stimulus word sets. The coefficients became input for four separate machine-computed Principal Axis factor analyses: two factor analyses, one for the upper and one for the lower stimulus word set for black subjects; and two factor analyses, one for the upper and one for the lower stimulus word set for the white subjects.

Two further factor analyses were computed, one for the total 105 stimulus word set for black subjects and one for the total 105 stimulus word set for white subjects.

All unrotated Principal Axis factor analyses demonstrated well-differentiated factor composition for the two racial groups.

The factor analyses of the lower 20 per cent stimulus word set demonstrated more divergent associative structures for the two racial groups than did the factor analyses of the upper 20 per cent stimulus word set for the two racial groups.

The factor analyses for the total 105 stimulus word set for black subjects and for white subjects also demonstrated clearly differentiated associative structures.

These findings were interpreted as demonstrating the existence of different associative structures for the two racial groups.

In all factor analyses, the main differentiating feature between the two racial groups was that the black associative structure contained well-defined racial issues, demonstrated a racially-oriented activity theme, included prominent black personalities active in the racial controversy and contained well-defined racially-oriented ideological commitments. These four characteristics of the black associative structure led to the interpretation that black subjects clearly defined the racial issues from the black perceptual framework, that racially-oriented activity theme contained both personalities and ideological commitments for carrying out the activity for the solution of racial problems.

The associative structure for the white subjects did not contain elements similar to the black associative structure. The factor analyses for the white subjects demonstrated general and diffuse racial issues which were racially oriented, but which had no racially-oriented activity theme, and no white personalities to carry out a solution to the racial controversy as perceived by the white subjects.

It was felt that the present study had implications for inter-racial communication. Insofar as the two racial groups demonstrated different associative structures on the same set of stimulus words, it was concluded that the stimulus words, which reflected areas of racial controversy, carried different associative meaning for the two racial groups, and that communication would most likely occur to the

extent to which the two groups agreed upon the associative meaning of the important issues of the racial controversy.

It was also felt that the findings had implications for teacher education. Insofar as the subjects employed in the present study were potential public school teachers, and insofar as it was their associative structures which were being assessed, it was felt that attention should be given to the cognitive-attitudinal dimension of potential teachers who will have the opportunity to impart their attitudes regarding racial issues to their students.

ISSUES VITAL TO NEGROES IN TENNESSEE (1962)

Marshall L. Morrison, Jr.

Purpose

The purposes of this study were (1) to identify the black leaders in the state of Tennessee and (2) to identify the issues vital to blacks in the State.

The data were obtained through interviews with 125 respondents. There were five groups of respondents: judges of panels A and B (ten judges to each panel), the ten selected leaders, forty-five respondents and fifty informants.

Three instruments were used in collecting data for this study: (1) the Exploratory Interview, for identifying the leaders; (2) the Issues Interview, for determining the vital issues; and (3) the Index of Status Characteristics, for determining the socioeconomic status of the leaders.

Procedure

The two panels of judges were used to identify the top ten influential black leaders. The nominees of the judges were arranged in order of frequency of mention, and the top ten nominees were selected as the leaders. The selected leaders were also asked to suggest ten top influential blacks of the state. All five groups of respondents were asked to suggest issues vital to blacks in Tennessee. The issues submitted by the respondents were tabulated and the ten issues ranking highest were selected as the issues vital to blacks in Tennessee. The socioeconomic status of each of the selected leaders was determined from the Index of Status Characteristics Scale.

Discussion and Conclusions

Analysis of the data revealed the following findings: The ten selected leaders came from two metropolitan areas located in Middle

and West Tennessee. Most of the leaders were not native Tennesseans. Most of the leaders were college graduates, but the majority of the college graduates did not graduate from colleges in Tennessee. Most of the leaders were fifty years of age or older and were somewhat conservative in outlook on vital issues. All of the leaders came from the top level of black society.

The 125 respondents submitted 104 issues which they considered vital. The issues were placed into twenty categories. The ten highest issues in order of frequency of mention were selected as the ten most vital issues facing blacks in Tennessee. The respondents ranked the ten issues in the following order: (1) employment, (2) education, (3) housing, (4) leadership, (5) health, (6) political action, (7) civil rights, (8) integration, (9) economic status, and (10) desegregation.

Although the above-mentioned issues ranked highest on the list of terms of frequency of mention, there appeared to be a lack of consensus among the respondents on the vital issues confronting blacks. There was also a significant lack of consensus among the respondents when it came to their interpretation of the issues. Various reasons were given for the issues being vital, and there was a lack of unified action on the issues by the leaders. Judges, leaders, respondents, and informants were in agreement on only three of the issues. These issues were employment, education, and leadership. Generally, there was consensus among the leaders and the informants as to the actions the leaders took on the issues, but there was some disagreement as to the reason for the actions.

The data also indicated that there was less than 50 per cent agreement between the black judges and the white judges in the selection of the ten black leaders. Whites tended to nominate black leaders who were conservative in outlook.

Implications

This study did not attempt to solve major problems. If it has laid open major problems clearly enough that they may be attacked with adequate knowledge of their ramifications and difficulties, it has served its purpose well.

It appears that the issues identified and delineated in this study (e.g., employment, education, housing, leadership, and health) and the approaches of the various leaders to the issues rather clearly point to some of the areas of vulnerability deriving from both the issues and the present approaches to them. These apparent problems need to be further investigated by competent researchers before decisive action and change can be expected.

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